

IN THESE TIMES

Fighting slavery
Page 23.



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40 Cents



New clout for working women?

Eleanor Holmes Norton, new chair of the EEOC, puts new teeth into anti-discrimination efforts. See page 3.

AFL-CIO talks, miners walk

Miners go out on strike as AFL-CIO convention opens in Los Angeles. Page 5.

Mexico's squatters stand up

Campamento weathers bullets, tax collectors, landlords, discovers Kim Il Sung. Page 12.

Sadat in the West Bank

Egypt grooms Palestinian leaders that will link new state to Jordan. Page 11.

Xmas shoppers beware!

You can't always get what you want. Page 20.

Photo from "Women at Work," an exhibition showing in New York through Dec. 29 at the Equitable Life Assurance Society, 285 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

'Women have become the nation's newest source of cheap labor,' says Eleanor Holmes Norton.

THE INSIDE STORY

Guest column by Saul Wellman



Did American CP set Carrillo up?

American socialists offer two different explanations for their continued impotence. According to one view, they have been rendered ineffective by a combination of prosperity and suppression. According to the other, they have been their own worst enemies.

The events surrounding Spanish Communist leader Santiago Carrillo's visit to the U.S. seems to confirm the darker picture of the American left.

Carrillo and the Spanish Communists were pioneers, along with the Italians, in breaking with the Soviet model of socialism and in re-infusing socialism with its original democratic content. His invitation to speak in the U.S. was a sign both of his party's growing strength and of the inability of American coldwarriors to dismiss him as a typical Stalinist bogeyman.

For American socialists, his visit promised to improve the image of socialism in the minds of the American people.

But Carrillo's words during his visit were largely drowned out by the furor created by his crossing a picket line to speak at Yale. Without examining the peculiar circumstances surrounding this picket line, all varieties of American socialists, from Communists to Trotskyists to new leftists, immediately denounced Carrillo. And with an arrogance conditioned by historical irrelevance, they ignored what he had to say.

Last week we printed a report by James Aronson on the Yale incident that raised certain doubts about Carrillo's role as a "strikebreaker." This week, we are printing a statement about the incident by Saul Wellman. Wellman is a veteran of the Spanish Civil War, a longtime leader of the American Communist party, and is presently a member of the New American Movement.

Wellman argues that the Communist party set Carrillo up as a "strikebreaker" in violation of Carrillo's own agreement with the union. If Wellman is right, American socialists have been guilty this time not only of ignorance and stupidity but also of collusion with the interests of Western capitalism.

—John Judis

The headline in the *Daily World*, the newspaper of the American Communist party, was, "Strikers at Yale call Carrillo a 'strikebreaker'" —accompanied by photographs of the picket line crossed by Santiago Carrillo. The *Daily World* stories of Nov. 16, 18, and 22 depressed and confused me more than anything since Khrushchev's secret speech. Carrillo a strikebreaker? As a Spanish Civil War veteran, the answer is terribly important to me.

I and a few others spent the whole week before his Yale visit trying to make contact with Carrillo and inform him of the strike. I ran up an enormous telephone bill before giving up, saddened and disillusioned, and cancelled my own plans to meet Carrillo in New Haven. I have never crossed a picket line, and was deeply disturbed that Carrillo would do so. Had I known the truth, however, I would have gone to Yale to hear him.

After his speech my phone became busy again. Friends sent news clippings and other information not available to the public that created a totally different picture of the events. A strange story, as shocking as the one in the *Daily World*, began to unfold.

Carrillo's invitation to speak at Yale came from the Chubb Fellowship, a privately endowed fund administered jointly by students and faculty for the purpose of bringing to the university outstanding national and international figures. Carrillo is such a figure because he is general secretary of the Communist party of Spain, which is moving towards socialism in a way that is unfamiliar to most of us in the U.S.

The invitation received much attention. The Paris edition of the *Herald Tribune* noted that Carrillo's Yale speech was the "first public appearance of a West European Communist leader since the cold war" (Nov. 17). And at the last minute the Carter administration hurriedly arranged for Felipe Gonzales, general secretary of the Socialist Workers party of Spain (PSOE) to come to the U.S. to "freeze out his more famous Communist counterpart." Clearly, the State department was not pleased to see the PCE receive undiluted attention.

Puzzling enough, another group ignored Carrillo's impending visit. Not a word of it appeared in the *Daily World*. Why not? The CPUSA's silence and their attitude towards the political stance of Carrillo's party turn out to be keys to the truth about what happened at Yale.

When Carrillo was informed that maintenance workers were on strike, a member of his group met with the union leaders to discuss the problem. It was agreed that the union would have no objection to his speaking if he began by expressing solidarity with the strikers. Carrillo fully lived up to his word.

It was not unusual for the maintenance union to waive the picket line for people's causes, having previously withdrawn its pickets in mid-October for a full week-end of activities on "American Responsibility Toward South Africa" and in November for a Yale Lawyers Guild meeting. A few days after Carrillo spoke, the Association of Greeks at Yale held, without pickets, a rally in honor of the 1973 student uprising in Athens. The union's position is that it is on strike against the Yale Corporation, not against people who use Yale facilities to publicize major social movements.

But when Carrillo spoke, without notice the union faulted on its agreement. Facing the pickets, Carrillo was shocked by the union's duplicity.

What explains the union's puzzling—and unannounced—change of heart? Consider first *who* was on the picket line. Most of the pickets (approximately 30) were members of the CPUSA. Coming to New Haven from New York, they had been mobilized, beginning on the night of the 14th, expressly to picket Carrillo. They were led by Roscoe Proctor, secretary of the CPUSA trade union department; national treasurer Sid Taylor; Leonard Levenson, vice-president of International Publishers (the CP publishing house). The most prestigious members of this group, considering the situation, were Levenson, Saul Birnbaum, Tony DeMaio and Felix Kusmann, fellow veterans of the Spanish Civil War.

The group marched in an unusual "alliance" with eight members of the Spartacist League (a splinter of the Socialist Workers party), and with perhaps 15 members of the local, which had promised not to picket. All told, 60 people picketed Carrillo. Meanwhile, directly across the street more than 3,000 people were entering Woolsey Hall (Yale University property) to hear the Boston Symphony. There wasn't a single picket at the concert.

An observer remarked about the CPUSA: "They reek with hypocrisy."

Joelle Fishman, executive secretary of the New Haven CP (the *Daily World* reported) energetically lectured Carrillo about "not breaking picket lines." But every day since Sept. 30, her husband, Arthur Perlo, who works at the Yale Computer Center, has crossed the picket line and gone to work.

Why the double standard?

Sid Taylor is a long-time resident of New Haven. Why did this stalwart defender of the Yale strikers wait until Nov. 16 at 8 p.m. to appear for the first time on the union's picket line?

The plot sickens. Consider the editorial appearing in the *Wall Street Journal* on Nov. 16. Commenting on the stir created by Carrillo's visit, the *Wall Street Journal* suggested that there was collusion to embarrass and prevent Carrillo from speaking at Yale. Not trusting *Wall Street Journal* editorials, I turned to the CP's *Daily World* of Nov. 16. The *Daily World* revealed that: "Vincent Sirabella, local union leader, said the union is going to make Carrillo's stay at Yale 'as uncomfortable as possible'."

According to the *World*, Sirabella noted that "telegrams [to Carrillo] had also been sent by the CPUSA." In another article Sirabella indicated that while his union was not a communist one "we welcome Communists as members." Ordinarily I would be pleased at such a progressive stand. But considering the way Carrillo was sandbagged at Yale the relationship of the CP to Local 35 sounds too cozy.

Consider also the following. While the capitalist press on Nov. 17 stressed a different theme, a headline in the *Daily World* read: "Gus Hall on Carrillo: He's a strikebreaker." The attack continued on Nov. 19: "CPUSA blasts Carrillo's scorn for workers." Henry Winston, chairman, and Gus Hall, general secretary, issued an 800-word statement denouncing Carrillo as a "strikebreaker" and "notorious revisionist." The speed and intensity of the CPUSA response is noteworthy. Little time was given to fact-gathering and judicious appraisal. Concurrently, Winston and Hall organized press conferences (totally disregarded by the press) and mobilized the picket line.

As I pieced the facts together, the story began to make sense. But if Winston and Hall were behind the trap Carrillo walked into, what were their motives? The main purpose of Carrillo's appearance was to give Americans a chance to learn about Spain today and understand the strategies and tactics of its 300,000-member Communist party. Gus Hall and Henry Winston were in Moscow with Carrillo on Nov. 4. Did they discuss the Yale picket with him then? If not, why not?

The evidence suggests that Winston and Hall attempted to divert attention from the real issue—the strategies and tactics of the Spanish Communist party. They tried to introduce an extraneous and volatile issue to discredit Carrillo and the cause he represents. In Moscow the Russians also made it "as uncomfortable as possible" for Carrillo by singling him out as the only prominent foreign Communist denied the honor of addressing their 60th Anniversary Celebration. Again, the *Daily World* is informative. "His act of strikebreaking at Yale cannot be divorced from his notorious revisionism in respect to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism."

Now I know what happened at Yale and I continue to be sad and depressed as I was at the beginning. Not because I question the integrity and revolutionary commitment of Santiago Carrillo, but by Winston's and Hall's "welcome" to the general secretary of the 300,000-member Communist party of La Pasionaria. I am sad at the opportunity they wasted to cement international proletarian solidarity. Whether new opportunities are to occur depends on the courage and integrity of the membership of the Communist party of the United States.

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Fighting job discrimination

By Dan Marshall
With little fanfare the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission unveiled Dec. 1 a package of sweeping procedural and structural reforms that may turn the government's civil rights enforcement machinery, which has sputtered along for 12 years, into a more effective apparatus for combatting employment discrimination.

Credit for the reforms, whose effectiveness has yet to be widely tested on specific cases, goes primarily to Eleanor Holmes Norton, the EEOC's dynamic new chair, and to the political pressure of women's and civil rights organizations.

"I have set out to completely overhaul the EEOC," Norton declared at a recent convention of Women Employed, a Chicago-based working women's organization. "It's problems are so systematic and thorough-going, that the agency has to be taken apart and put back together again. I intend to do no less."

In addition to revamping the process of resolving individual grievances, Norton pledges to target systemic discrimination—racially or sexually biased employment patterns that extend throughout entire corporations or industries—as the "chief priority" of the new commission.

This proposition, which begins to address the social and economic roots of discrimination, has already raised some influential eyebrows in the "business community," who have reportedly made their concerns known to the Carter administration.

Constant criticism.

The EEOC, formed in 1965 to administer the anti-discrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act, has been battered by charges of corruption, incompetence and mismanagement since its inception. It has had seven chairman and ten executive directors, none of whom stayed for their full five-year term. When Lowell W. Perry, commission chairman under President Ford, abruptly resigned last year—in the wake of several damaging internal audits that he kept secret—he publicly wondered whether the agency should be abolished completely.

Its most obvious failure is seen in its inability to handle individual discrimination cases. Over 100,000 such complaints were filed last year, a phenomenal increase over the 8,000 submitted in its first operating year. While the agency's staff has also grown, its procedures and structures have virtually collapsed under the strain. The result has been a backlog of 130,000 cases and a waiting period of two or three years for anyone currently filing a complaint.

This administrative morass is complicated by the fact that federal efforts to enforce equal employment laws are spread over 25 separate agencies, each of which defines violations differently and employs its own enforcement methods. This has led to frequent criticisms from business, labor and popular organizations of duplication of efforts, reams of wasteful paper work, unclear and contradictory guidelines and, most importantly, an inability to make a dent in the original problem.

Indeed, the General Accounting Office concluded last year that federal actions have had a negligible impact of women and minorities in the workplace. "Minorities and women continue to be concentrated in the lower-paying positions. It will be many years before they achieve some degree of parity in the better-paying job categories," said the GAO report.

The pay gap between men and women has actually widened. Women working full-time are paid, on the average, about 59 cents for every dollar earned by men in comparable jobs—a drop from 64 cents for every male dollar 20 years ago.

"The great majority of women are trapped in a few occupations set aside by society for women only," Norton charges. "Despite the fact that they today average slightly more years of schooling



Susan Martin

In addition to revamping the process of resolving individual grievances, new EEOC chair Eleanor Holmes Norton promises much more of a systemic thrust for the agency.

than men, women still work mainly in three basic job categories: clericals, household workers, and service work occupations such as waitressing, beauticians and nurses' aides."

"Women have become the nation's newest source of cheap labor. In jobs women occupy their own special ghetto at the bottom of the nation's workplace," she adds.

Drawing from local experiences.

Norton waded into this debilitating mess last June, when her presidential appointment was confirmed by the Senate. A 40-year-old, Yale-trained lawyer who explicitly identifies with the women's and civil rights movements, Norton spent seven years heading the New York City Commission on Human Rights, which provided her with extensive experience in anti-discrimination work.

Many of the EEOC reforms are drawn from local experiences that, she says, were highly successful in speeding the processing and resolution of cases and freeing time for more systemic work. She has also actively solicited the input of women's and civil rights groups in outlining needed changes and in pressuring the Carter administration.

"I have a good amount of respect for her," comments Kathy Blunt, associate director for Women Employed. "She has a good head for administration. She's

creative. She's dynamic and articulate and there's a real give and take in meetings." Blunt, who has worked with Norton closely, also points out that she is very "political"—a skilled practitioner of constituency politics who comprehends the value of popular pressure in inter-governmental politicking.

In July Norton laid out her plans before the House Labor subcommittee on Employment Opportunities. Most dramatic are changes in the handling of individual grievances.

At present, when a woman walks into an EEOC office with a complaint she talks to an inadequately-trained clerical worker who fills out a form with a very general description of the problem. In two or three weeks, if she's lucky, the complainant gets a form letter verifying that the commission has received her charge. Then the complaint travels to the bottom of the backlog pile and the complainant won't hear from them again for two or three years.

Rapid processing system.

The new "rapid charge processing system," which has been installed in three model offices, includes a more detailed initial session in which a trained professional will first determine whether or not the EEOC has jurisdiction over the case. (If not, the complainant is referred to another agency.) If it is determined that

the agency is empowered to consider the case, there is an extensive interview in which the specifics of the grievance are recorded, the timetable for future steps is explained, and a determination is made about what kind of settlement is preferable—back wages, a promotion, reinstatement, or some other option.

Within ten days the company receives a copy of the charge along with a questionnaire on the issues in the case. If the company is unwilling to settle immediately—the most likely situation—a special "fact-finding conference" is set up to bring the complainant face to face with an EEOC investigator and a company representative. In New York Norton found that this conference reduces the time it takes to investigate a case, improves the quality of information, and enhances the possibility of a settlement. There were few instances, she says, of employer retaliation.

If fact-finding also fails to produce a settlement, a full-scale investigation is supposed to be launched.

While this streamlined system sounds great on paper, observers note several potential problems. The company can delay returning the questionnaire, for instance, in order to hold off the fact-finding conference. In the conference itself, the complainant is placed in a highly-intimidating position, facing an employer and a corporate lawyer, with only the expertise of the EEOC negotiator to fully protect her rights. How many cases go to full investigation is also a key consideration.

"We really have to see how it works in practice," says Blunt, who wants to insure that groups like Women Employed can serve as advocates. "Norton has to deal with a staff which may or may not be competent as well as with management, the ones who usually gum up the system. These agencies often fall apart when companies decide to start playing around."

Systemic action.

To get at more subtle forms of discrimination that affect large numbers of women and minority workers, Norton agrees that the commission must direct more of its energies towards "pattern and practice" work as well as "frontier areas" like the exclusion of women from hazardous workplaces. In the past about 75 percent of the EEOC's funds have been tied up investigating individual cases. Systemic breakthroughs have come only in the communications, steel and airline industries, where employers were ordered to promote groups into higher-paying jobs and pay millions in compensation.

Norton's approach to expanding systemic work is still unclear, though she has hired a special consultant to develop plans for a systemic unit. By analyzing statistical data and the petitions of individuals and organizations, she hopes to pinpoint companies or industries for class-action campaigns. Systemic inquiries can now be launched only if a commissioner accepts the charge.

"This area still needs to be worked out," says Blunt. "When it becomes a commissioner's charge, what access do groups like ours have in terms of the investigation or the remedies? We're very leary to just leave it to the EEOC."

This proposed systemic focus is already opposed by the Business Roundtable, a powerful business lobbying group, which has sent a secret memo to the Carter administration urging it to "redirect" the commission towards concentrating on individual complaints.

Business pressure is beginning to take its toll. Norton asked for a budget supplemental from the Office of Management and Budget for 1,100 new positions. The OMB initially agreed because, they said, Norton was doing a find job. But she was reportedly informed several weeks ago that she would receive money for only 600 new slots. The message from the OMB: take three years instead of

Continued on page 18.

THE CAMPUS

Oregon sells South African stock

By Bruce Bowers
EUGENE, ORE.—“I didn’t believe it would be the most effective course of action. I’ve changed my mind,” said Jonathan Ater, member of the Oregon State Board of Higher Education, who, with seven others on the 11-member board, voted Nov. 18 to withdraw state board investments in firms doing substantial business in Southern Africa.

The vote climaxed a seven-month campaign throughout Oregon to focus attention on the degree to which American corporate investment is helping to support the racist governments that control South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Namibia (South West Africa).

In May 1977 students at the University of Oregon voted five to one in favor of divestment and in November Portland State University students passed an identical measure three to one.

The May referendum was instrumental in placing the measure before the Board finance committee. After considerable study, it voted in October three to two *not* to divest. One of the major factors in

changing the votes of two of the three dissenting committee members on Nov. 18 was the persuasiveness of three hours of testimony before the Board. All 31 who testified favored divestment.

“Hearing the testimonies I realized that this oppression has been going on for ten years and is growing worse instead of better,” said board member Greg Moore. “I previously felt by withdrawing our stock we would be removing our last chance to do some good in South Africa... However, I hate to admit it, but I don’t think we can do much anymore—so I am voting in favor of divestment.”

Thami Mhlambiso, United Nations representative for the African National Congress, told the Board that “the government of South Africa spends \$517 for the education of each white student, but only \$46 for each African student. ‘How can such a denial of educational opportunity be justified? What if your children were subjected to this? You, the board, must act before it is too late,’” Mhlambiso said.

Mhlambiso was brought to the board

meeting by the Eugene-based People for Southern Africa. Walt Sheasby, PSAF member, testified that 33 of the 84 firms whose stock the Board owns have “substantial” holdings in Southern Africa, and that over half of the 33 firms have direct business connections with the military-industrial establishment in South Africa. “Two firms, Ford and General Motors, have violated the 14 year old U.S. ban on arms sales to South Africa by selling to South Africa actual military equipment,” Sheasby added.

The board resolution calls for the divestiture of stock in firms employing 50 or more people or with earnings or fixed assets exceeding \$500,000 in South Africa.

Voting against the divestment measure were board chairman Louis Perry, president of Standard Insurance Company of Portland and a director of five other Portland-based firms; Loren Wyss, senior vice-president and director of Columbia Management Company, a Portland stock investment firm; and Les Anderson, owner and publisher of *Random Lengths*, a lumber industry market report, and co-owner

of Lumberman’s Buying Service. None of the eight who voted in favor of divestment had direct business links.

This marks the first time a state system of higher education has voted for divestment. In September the trustees of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, passed a similar measure, and several private colleges, including Oberlin, Haverford, Hampshire and Smith, have initiated divestment procedures.

Oregon Attorney General Jim Redden is currently reviewing the legality of the State Board’s decision. Redden suggests that the Oregon Investment Council, a five-member group appointed by the governor, may have control over all higher education investments as a result of a law passed in 1975. The OIC normally follows advice given to it by the State Board regarding its stock portfolios. It remains to be seen, however, whether it will do so in this case.

Bruce Bowers is a graduate student at the University of Oregon and an active member of the Willamette Valley chapter of the New American Movement.

ENVIRONMENT

Clearwater group fights for a cleaner Hudson River



Folk singer Pete Seeger is co-founder of the Clearwater organization.

Lionel Delevingne

By Mitchell Torton
Every year, the sloop *Clearwater* cruises the Hudson River, making its way past the barges and the industrial shoreline areas, focusing public attention on the river’s blight. Since 1969, when a group of sailing buffs and conservationists launched the high-masted, broad-beamed replica of an 1840s cargo sloop, the *Clearwater* has symbolized the movement to restore and preserve the area’s waters.

When the Clearwater organization (officially known as the Hudson River Clearwater Restoration, Inc.) held its annual convention Dec. 4 there was a heightened sense of urgency to its task. A project study published this year by the Environmental Defense Fund and the New York Public Interest Research Group, confirmed previous findings of cancer-causing agents in the Hudson River drainage basin, source of drinking water for 150,000 valley residents. In addition, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has proposed that New York City be supplied with Hudson River water, which would impose the contaminated water on 10 million additional people.

Titled “Trouble Waters: Toxic Chemicals in the Hudson River,” the EDF-NYPIRG study is only one of several that have documented the existence of carcinogens in the nation’s drinking waters over the years. EDF’s studies on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, conducted in 1974, discovered a correlation between cancer mortality rates and counties that received water from chemically polluted parts of those rivers.

The EDF-NYPIRG report pointed out that state and federal agencies have been lax in enforcing existing standards upon industry—standards such as those of the 1972 amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. The report blames “years of bureaucratic delay, coupled with industry callousness.”

Representatives of the 5,000 Clearwater members and a panel of experts at the conference grappled with the problem of getting action from the “Troubled Waters” report.

In addition to calls to “pressure your legislators,” the conference attempted to establish the basis for an effective media campaign.

Folk singer Pete Seeger, co-founder of the Clearwater organization, suggested to Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman (D-NY), a conference panelist, that federal money be allocated to promote the issue. “They spent \$5 million developing *Sesame Street*,” he said, “If we can make the alphabet interesting, why in hell can’t we do the same for water pollution?”

Labor leaders often charge that environmentalists would sacrifice jobs in favor of sentimental preservation. Inner city activists often perceive the movement as the concern of suburbanites wanting to preserve their lush, waterside view. Faced with expensive environmental requirements, industries have threatened layoffs or to abandon hard-pressed areas if forced to comply. Other critics argue that public money is more urgently needed to promote jobs and economic development than to foster conservation.

Dismissing such arguments, New York State Assemblyman Oliver Koppell told the conference, “Environmental protection is the largest contributor to capital construction and jobs projects going on.” Conrad Simon, a regional director of the EPA, acknowledged that “we’re going to have to make some hard decisions. It’s going to cost several hundred million dollars to clean up the Hudson.”

Pete Seeger, who built his reputation as a folk singer and humanist with a large repertoire of union songs, is unimpressed with the anti-environmental talk of today’s union leadership.

“We had several workshops with union people last June,” Seeger told **IN THESE TIMES**, “and we came to the conclusion that most union leaders are about as misinformed as industrialists. In the long run, American unions will change, and we are trying to build a broad-based coalition. It’s up to us to be more active with the unions. We ran a big spread on the J.P. Stevens boycott in our newsletter. It lost us some members, but most people supported it.”

“I used to say,” Seeger added, “that first we have to change society, and then we can take care of all those little things. Then in the ’60s I read Rachel Carson’s book, *Silent Spring*, and now believe that, no, this is too important.”

Fred Kirkpatrick, long-time black activist and former colleague of the late Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., is a charter member of the Clearwater organization. Kirkpatrick agrees with critics who say the environmental program is not broad enough. “They have brought the issue of poisoned water to our attention,” he said, “but they have not related that problem to those of us who suffer most.”

Kirkpatrick is trying to do just that. He ran a workshop on racism at the Clearwater conference which produced a resolution to broaden the working definition of “environment” to include the social environment. “This isn’t going to be just words,” he told the workshop. “We’re going to get some action.”

Mitchell Torton is a free-lance writer in Hastings-on-Hudson, N. Y.

LABOR

AFL-CIO meet to consider new coalition

By Sam Kushner
LOS ANGELES—AFL-CIO leaders, at their biennial convention here Dec. 8-13, are paying homage to the necessity of reestablishing a liberal-labor coalition in order to beat back the big business attack on people's needs. But there is little expectation that this convention will actually advance that coalition, since the gap between the high-sounding words and the existing policies and positions of the AFL-CIO is still very apparent.

AFL-CIO president George Meany in his prepared report to the convention declared, "No group—not in the labor movement, not in the civil rights and women's organizations, not in the churches—can by themselves match the raw political and financial might of big business. But together, these groups represent millions of people, and people, not money, are what this nation is all about."

California's top AFL-CIO executive officer, John F. Henning, in an exclusive interview with *IN THESE TIMES*, added, "Just as the liberal movement cannot dismiss the importance of the labor movement if it would know success, labor cannot go it alone. We must be in coalition with liberal groups of like mind and purpose, the black community, the brown [Chicano] community, youth groups, women's organizations. We have to move in concert on a broad liberal front."

Conflict over Carter and Brown.

When it comes to the administrations of Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown, however, these statements seem to fall by the wayside.

Nationally, the AFL-CIO appears to be fully committed to a picture of a Carter administration that, in the words of Meany, has "brought into office [of the presidency] a sense of hope and a spirit of inspiration that has brightened the land. He has shunned the negativism of the past two [Nixon and Ford] administrations, choosing to present to the Congress and the American people major programs."

And in California, with the second largest state AFL-CIO organization, Henning views the two-year-old governorship of Jerry Brown, which has come under fire from many liberal sources, as the best in the state's history.

Evidence of the gap between traditional liberal and labor forces was seen the week-end before the AFL-CIO convention when the California Democratic Council, a powerful grass-roots-oriented organization, and the Americans for Democratic Action each sponsored conferences here that leveled sharp attacks at both the Carter and Brown administrations. The spokesman for the AFL-CIO, on the other hand, remarked, "We have faith in Gov. Brown that he will help us."

The political conflicts deepened around particular issues like immigration. Alberto Juarez Jr., executive director of the One Stop Immigration Center, said at one conference that "the administration knows very little about immigration problems and Carter hasn't done a damn thing about the situation."

At the 59th convention of the AFL-CIO's Building and Construction Trades Dept., which immediately preceded the AFL-CIO convention, on the other hand, construction union representatives heard Undersecretary of Labor Bob Brown place the blame for unemployment largely on the presence of undocumented workers in the U.S. The delegates vigorously applauded this statement and several of them took the floor to tell their own tales about "illegals" on jobs.

Other events at the three-day building trades convention also illustrated the dif-

The grand hopes for a new liberal/labor coalition may founder on the question of support for the Carter and Brown administrations, as that is where the gap between the coalition rhetoric and the actual political orientations of the two groups is most visibly seen, with labor taking a more sympathetic view to the two administrations and the liberals a more critical view.

ferences between labor and those who should be their natural allies. The meeting was overwhelmingly white—a single black delegate was present out of 400—and all male. When one speaker said that "You've got to find ways of opening up business opportunities and jobs for minorities and women," he was given a lukewarm reception, at best.

Jobs and organizing.

The building trades play a particularly important role in the AFL-CIO. Meany comes out of the Plumbers union and is very much a part of the building trades hierarchy, as are many of other top AFL-CIO leaders. Henning says that the 300,000 building trades workers in California "are in a very real way the sinew of our movement."

The building trades convention served as something of a preview for the full AFL-CIO convention. Predictably, jobs and organizing were primary concerns in an industry that has almost one-fourth of its workers jobless or partially employed.

Robert A. Georgine, president of the

Mineworkers strike nationwide

After two months of bitter and fruitless negotiations between the United Mine Workers union and coal industry representatives, about 130,000 miners embarked on a strike Dec. 6 that will test the union's internal strength and may determine the nature of coal field labor relations for decades to come.

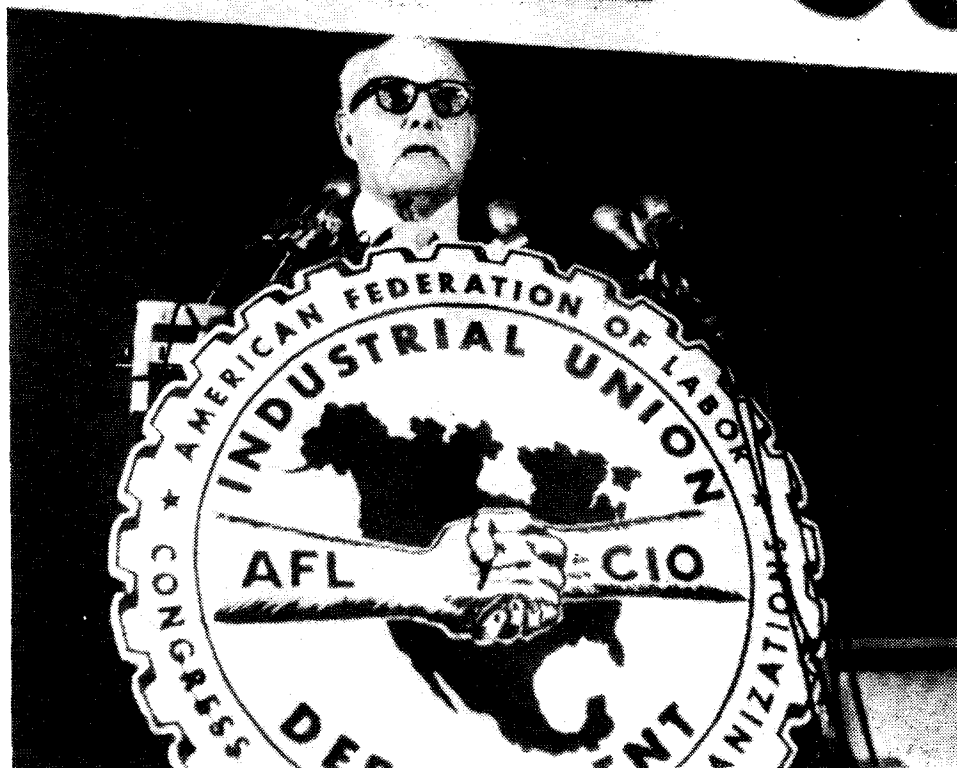
The strike, which will cut the nation's coal production in half, is not expected to seriously affect the economy for several months since utility and steel companies have record stockpiles of coal.

After issuing the strike call, UMW president Arnold Miller expressed outrage that the Bituminous Coal Operators Association negotiators "have been so unyielding" and charged that they were trying to "break the union."

The prime issue separating the two sides is the limited right to strike, a contract provision that would enable a local union to strike by majority vote of its members. The union claims that this would help to quell unauthorized walk-



IONAL CO



Setbacks in achieving labor's legislative agenda have lead George Meany to make the call for a new coalition.

Building Trades Council pointed out to the delegates that during most of the post war period construction was 11 percent of the Gross National Product, but that in 1974 it was down to 9.6 percent and last year it fell to 8.7 percent. In his opinion, he said, "there is not much cause for optimism." Overall employment in the building trades has decreased by 600,000 and although there was a small resurgence last year the number of building trades workers is at its lowest point since 1973-74.

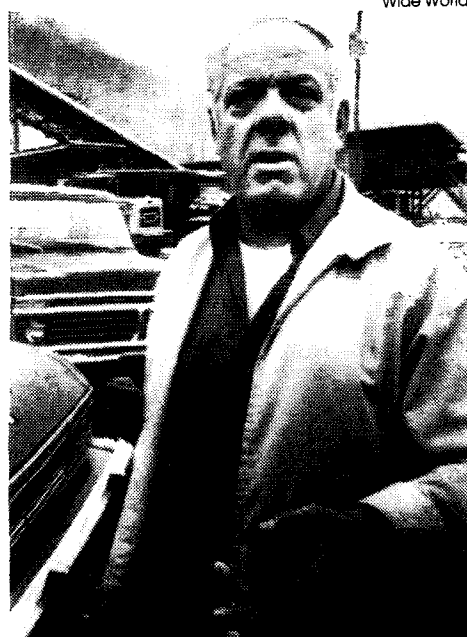
There was near unanimous support at the gathering for a campaign to organize unorganized building trades workers—something that hasn't been aggressively pursued for many years—but there was considerable disagreement over how that campaign should be waged.

Georgine, who was given a boost in salary at the convention to \$65,000 annually, and a majority of the Executive Council favored an additional three cents per capita dues assessment and keeping the organizing effort in the present leadership framework. The Sheet Metal Workers

and other unions favored a special ten cents per capita assessment earmarked for a separate organizing department. Georgine won after a desultory debate.

The overall condition of the construction trades will largely hinge on the state of the economy and the job-producing actions of the Carter administration, topics that Meany also touched in his AFL-CIO convention report. "It is still too early to grade the Carter administration," Meany declared. "For the pluses, and they are many indeed, are clouded by the continued slack in the economy and the high rate of unemployment. Realistic action to meet these problems has been stymied by the apparent shift of priorities away from the President's number one campaign issue—jobs—and toward the number one issue of the conservative opposition—'balance the budget'."

What the Carter administration has done thus far, the AFL-CIO leader said, "has not been enough... The primary cause of the projected \$60 billion deficit is unemployment, and the only cure is jobs."



Romie Keenan, a UMW member and coal truck driver, remains confident that his union will win—"We always have."

outs, while industry representatives fear that demands won at one mine would ripple through the entire industry.

The BCOA is taking an "extremely hard line" in negotiations, according to *Business Week*, by demanding "unprecedented disciplinary powers" over miners as well as "contract changes that would take away many of the UMW's economic gains..."

The union is demanding a full restoration of health benefits that were cut last July, a question that BCOA bargainers have refused to discuss until the "wild-cat issue" is resolved.

At press time, the first instances of picket-line violence were reported between miners and supervisors in Ohio. Next week in *THESE TIMES* will publish an in-depth evaluation of the underlying causes of the strike, its probable length, and the possibility that it will be undercut by coal shipments from the west.

—Dan Marshall

ELECTORAL

Leftist seeks assessor post

By Dave Lindorff
L.A. Bureau

LOS ANGELES—Left and progressive forces have found it is not easy to get anyone left of center elected to anything in Los Angeles, but Derek Shearer, a veteran of the electoral left here, is trying another route—appointment.

While few observers give him much chance of success in his effort to snare the post of county assessor, he has managed to raise some issues and eyebrows in the area of taxation policy just by trying.

Shearer is one of 20 candidates for the office, which was vacated last September when four-term Assessor Philip Watson retired suddenly with more than a year left on his term of office.

Because Watson had been under investigation by several members of the county Board of Supervisors, as well as the district attorney and the grand jury for allegedly favoring commercial and industrial property in general, and several corporate "friends" in particular, at the expense of the average homeowner, the atmosphere here has been ripe for a discussion of overall property tax policy.

Even before Shearer threw his hat into the ring, the supervisors themselves had begun discussing the problem. With residential property values rising at an average rate of 35 percent a year, while the value of commercial property was stagnating, the board was coming under mounting pressure to "do something." Homeowners were paying an ever-increasing share of the cost of local government.

For the most part, the mood has been reactionary. Homeowners have besieged the board calling for drastic cutbacks in critical areas of human services: health care, welfare, mass transit and the like. But the year-long focus by the local media on the operations of Watson's office has enabled progressive groups like the Coalition for Economic Survival, NAM, the Campaign for Economic Democracy and others to get wide-spread attention with their call for a restructuring of the local tax system.

Watson, by retiring (with a \$20,000-a-year pension) short circuited efforts by the supervisors to have him removed from office, and the grand jury ultimately announced that it would not indict him (many of the alleged misdeeds had statutes of limitation that had expired). But his departure meant the board of supervisors had to appoint a successor for the year. They didn't trust his subordinates, so they put out a call for applicants. Shearer was one of those who signed on.

One of the last candidates to be interviewed in public session by the supervisors, Shearer startled the largely conservative board by making some rather radical tax proposals, and then explaining that several states were already using them.

He said that billions of dollars in assets in Los Angeles were going tax-free while real estate was being taxed heavily, because California and its 58 counties do not tax such intangible wealth as stocks and bonds.

When board member Baxter Ward questioned the political realism of such an idea, Shearer replied that it was already being done—in Kentucky.

Shearer also called for an end to all property tax exemptions—an escape used frequently by church-owned properties. When Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, the board's evangelist, suggested this might be a threat to the separation of church and state, Shearer said various taxing jurisdictions in the nation had simply publicized how much such organizations were escaping in taxes, and then allowed them to make "contributions" in lieu of taxes and embarrassment, on a voluntary basis.

By, Shearer proposed a "split-roll" property tax system—an

While few observers give Derek Shearer, a veteran of L.A.'s electoral left, much chance of being appointed county assessor, his effort has managed to raise some issues and eyebrows in the area of taxation policy. It may also lay the foundation for a full-fledged election campaign for the office sometime in the future by Shearer or others.

some form by a number of the candidates before and after Shearer, and one endorsed by supervisor Ward. The idea is to establish assessed values for all property, residential and commercial, and then to tax commercial property at a higher percentage of that value. The result is to compensate for the higher inflation rate of residential property. For instance, a home valued at \$50,000 might be taxed at 2 percent and pay \$1,000. Under current practices a business of similar value would pay the same tax, but in a "split-roll" system it might be taxed at 4 percent and would pay taxes of \$2,000.

Shearer noted that this idea too is not new and is in use in Illinois, Minnesota and several other states. But he added a new twist. He proposed that such a split roll be "progressive"—graduated so that

small firms would pay a lower rate than giant corporations.

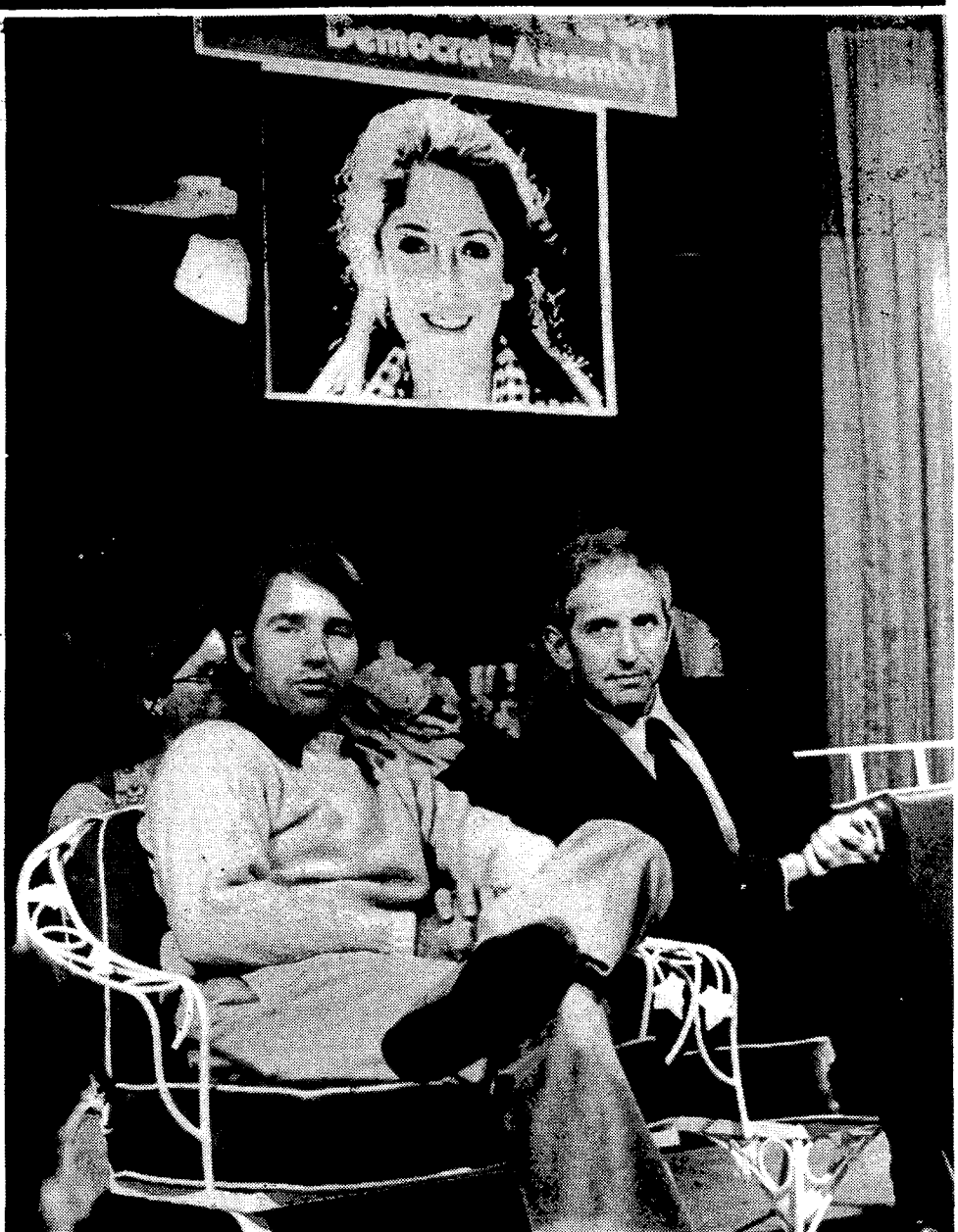
Traditionally, the office of assessor has been a kind of straw man for county supervisors and other local government policy-makers to attack at tax time. These officials usually criticize the assessor for higher assessments, when these are really the result of market forces and real estate inflation, for the most part. They shrink from explaining that with higher overall assessments they could simply have reduced the tax rate.

At the same time, the big money for local government officials' campaigns comes from the business community, and in some cases from labor. As a result, few of them want to really change a taxing system that benefits business (and many unions here seem to endorse the

"logic" that what's good for business is good for labor).

For this reason, Shearer is unlikely to get appointed. Board members seem to realize that he would not make a good straw man. They seemed visibly shaken at one proposal he made to hire two full-time economists to "report on tax trends and future revenue problems."

But Shearer suggested to **IN THESE TIMES** that he might consider running for the office in the upcoming June primary, "depending on who they appoint." If he decides on this course of action, he will have already established a solid platform, and given the current uproar over residential taxes, he might even have a shot at becoming the first progressive in local office here, whether the supervisors want him or not.



Derek Shearer (left) with Dan Ellsberg at a rally for Ruth Yannatta's campaign for the California State Assembly.

ORGANIZATIONS

People's Party coalition in trouble

By Jeff Gottlieb

The national convention of the People's party was held simultaneously in New York and Los Angeles over the weekend of Nov. 25-27. About 35 people attended the New York meeting and another 50 gathered in Los Angeles to discuss party issues and to plot its future course. The West Coast meeting was held in conjunction with a meeting of the Peace and Freedom party, the People's party affiliate in California. The gatherings marked the sixth anniversary of the founding of the People's party in Dallas, Texas, and the tenth anniversary of the Peace and Freedom party.

Along with people from New York and California, there was also a scattering of people from Washington, D.C., Maryland, Massachusetts and Michigan.

Both parties were begun by activists who had become disillusioned with the existing parties, principally around the issues of civil rights and an end to the Vietnam war. In recent years both groups have become advocates of socialism.

The People's party has dwindled in recent years. At one time its affiliates had ballot status in many states, now California's Peace and Freedom party is the only affiliate on the ballot.

The People's party has few resources and is financed primarily by lecture fees donated by Dr. Benjamin Spock, the par-

ty's presidential candidate in 1972 and vice-presidential hopeful in 1976.

Because of these problems, the early part of the convention was used to discuss the possibility of disbanding the party. Lew McCammon, L.A. County Peace and Freedom party treasurer, expressed the feelings of several others when he said, "Besides the Peace and Freedom party, the New York group and a few scattered bands around the country, we aren't a party that is going to seize power through the electoral process. We should stop fooling people."

A motion to disband the party failed, however.

Al Sargis, a member of the People's party national leadership and of the Peace and Freedom party, was still pessimistic on the final day of the convention. "I have seen no indication from the body that we are going to become day-to-day organizers," he said, referring to the group's oft-mentioned goal of "organizing the unorganized." "Next year, if we exist we'll be talking about the same things." He later expressed his feeling that the People's party will merge with other groups, such as the Socialist party or the New American Movement.

It has not helped that a certain amount of distrust and wariness has developed between the Peace and Freedom party and

the New York Working People's party (NYWPP), the party's two main constituents.

These feelings revolve around the activities of the NYWPP. Opponents of the group have charged that it uses mind control techniques similar to those of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, that it was once associated with the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), a group that has masqueraded as left-wing while forming alliances with conservative Republicans and other right-wing forces. The Peace and Freedom party has asked the NYWPP to respond to those charges.

While the People's party seems in danger of splitting, the Peace and Freedom party has easily qualified for the California ballot, even while its strength has dwindled. From a high of 105,100 registered voters in 1968, the party was down to 12,000 members by January 1975, although since then its registration has more than doubled.

As Sargis observed, "We have fewer registered voters than in 1968, but we get more votes now. I'm afraid it's because people don't know what the party stands for. I've asked a lot of people why they are registered with our party and they just say, 'I'm for peace and freedom'."

Jeff Gottlieb is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles.

THE SEAS

Race to control the sea floor

By David Helvarg
SAN DIEGO—The 560-foot, 20,000-ton converted Liberian ore carrier *Deep Sea Miner II* sits in port at the 10th Avenue Terminal here waiting for its assigned departure date.

It's a strange looking vessel with its radar-like geodesic dome covering the derrick at mid-ships and its pipe storage racks and air compressors crowding the deck-top from bow to superstructure. But it's no stranger in appearance than the first oil rig, airplane or iron horse.

The *Deep Sea Miner II*, a Liberian ship chartered by an American company owned by a consortium of three multinational corporations is leading a race involving over 20 transnational corporations from half a dozen developed countries and 116 Third World nations represented in the United Nations Law of the Seas Conference in Geneva. The race is to determine who will have control over the 1.5 trillion tons of mineral wealth estimated to be lying under the sea.

Scientific surveys, conducted to chart the oceans' vast subsurface mountain chains, chasms, plains and valleys, first began compiling data on the distribution and make-up of manganese nodules in the late '50s and early '60s. They found them lying on the bottom sediment of virtually every ocean of the world.

These nodules, rich in copper, nickel, cobalt and other minerals, appear as black or brown potato-shaped lumps averaging from one to three inches across and "as thickly set as a cobblestone street" stretching for thousands of square miles at the bottom of the Pacific.

"On Nov. 1 our ship will be going out for a test run," explains George Bonnett, port engineer for Deep Sea Ventures, the service company that runs *Deep Sea Miner II* for Ocean Mining Associates of Gloucester Point, Va., a joint venture of U.S. Steel, the Sun Company (formerly Sun Oil) and Union Miniere of Belgium.

"The ship will reach its test site 1,100 miles southwest of San Diego. There, in 15,000 feet of water, it will sink a dredge attached to a pipeline. Compressed air will be fed into the pipeline creating a suction that will pull the nodules off the bottom. The ship will move along the surface dragging the dredge behind it like a vacuum cleaner."

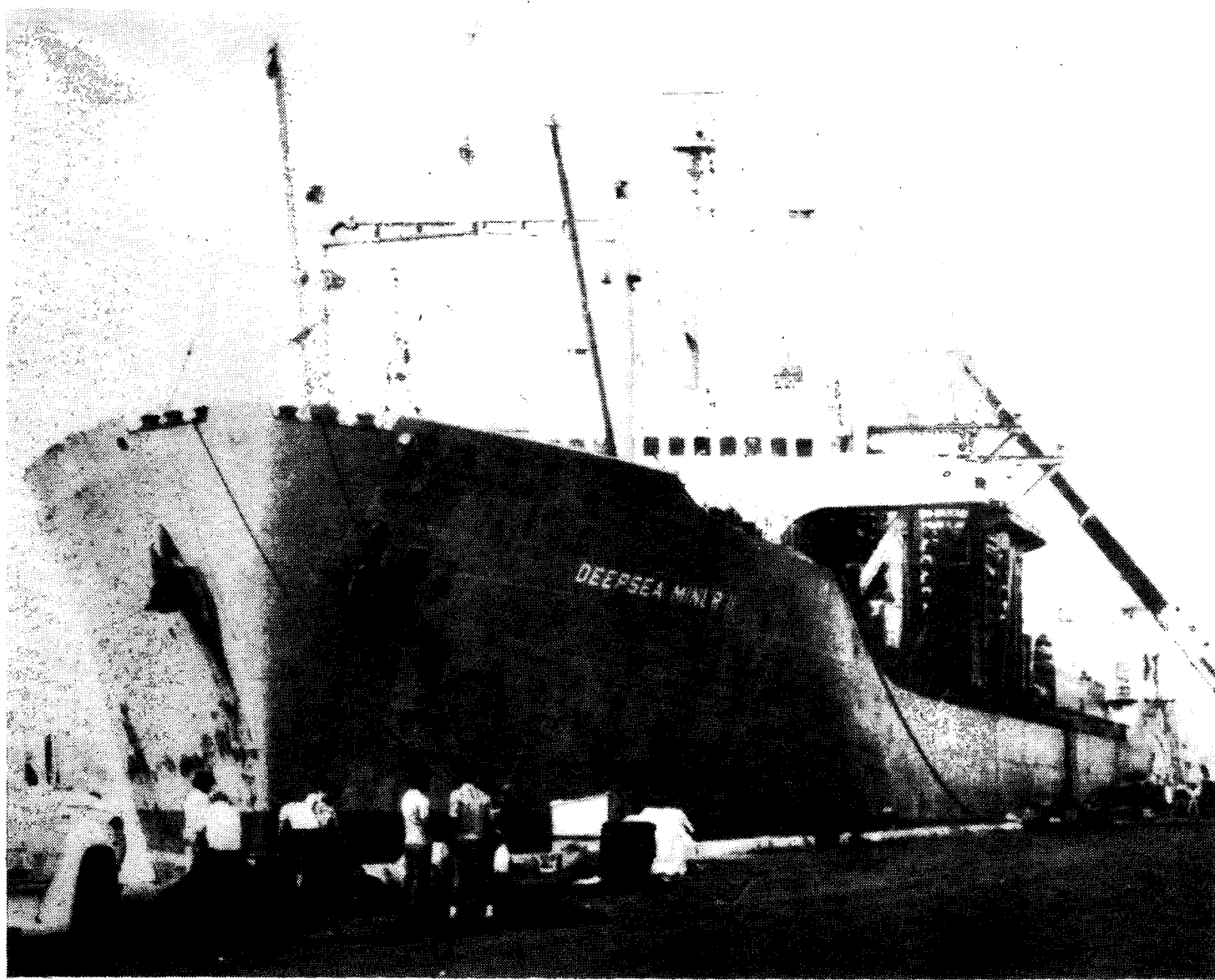
"We're hoping to pick up 5,000 tons of nodules over a 40-day period. If this test works then we'll go back out in January and try to pick up 1,000 tons a day, which will bring us close to the beginning of commercial operations. Then we can start setting up processing plants and the like," explains Bonnett.

Environmental disruption.

Little is known of the ocean bottom or its role in maintaining the planet's environment. Its sediment is rich in microscopic organisms and decayed plant and animal life. Sea cucumbers, mollusks and clams are found in surprising number. Strange unidentified creatures live in the black, slow-moving bottom waters. What appears to be a rock will sit in front of an underwater camera for six months. Suddenly, over a period of several days, it will grow arms and begin to crawl out of view. Thin, spider-like creatures will float like mosquitos around the monitor's light source. Ethereal translucent forms will seem to hover on the visual edge of the monitor then glide away.

Mining companies admit that their hydrolic dredges and continuous line buckets will stir up the sediment and probably kill any plants or animals in their path but they argue that the environmental costs are "insignificant."

While the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration is conducting environmental studies of deep sea mining, it is not clear whether or not they have the power to enforce U.S. environmental standards in international waters. One of the reasons underwater mining of phosphates is not advancing as rapidly



Vittorio Corrado

Rather than sign an international treaty regulating mining on the sea floor, the U.S. may wreck the Law of the Sea Conference by refusing to attend when it reconvenes in Geneva this March. This stand has support from mining corporations involved and from Congress.

as manganese mining is that most of the phosphate deposits are located within the U.S.' 200-mile territorial limit.

"There is so much red tape, environmental impact reports and bureaucracy you have to deal with on this sort of thing," says Dr. John Mero, an early advocate of ocean mining and author of *Mineral Resources of the Sea*. "Governments just aren't able to respond to new opportunities as quickly as these big corporations."

Law of the Sea Conference.

In 1976 Ocean Mining Associates filed mining claims with the State department for vast stretches of the Pacific. The State department, which does not have sovereignty over international waters, has not responded to these claims. American government policy has, however, tended to back the multinationals in their conflict with those who would claim sovereignty over the seas.

The UN has had an on-going Law of the Seas Conference since 1958 to discuss such issues as fishing rights, territorial waters and international straits. In 1969 a resolution was passed saying that the sea floor was a "common heritage of mankind." Third World members of the conference have interpreted this to mean that all undersea mining should be conducted under the auspices of a UN-administered International Seabed Authority, which they have dubbed "enterprise."

Elliot Richardson, chief American negotiator at the conference, has argued that private corporations with the "resources and capital" to begin undersea mining should be allowed to do so and that a tax on their profits might be levied to help the UN's "Enterprise" get under way.

"Third World people are just being

impractical," says Dr. Mero who has been to a number of UN meetings as a consultant to several mining consortiums. "They want something for nothing, a free ride. But of course nobody is going to give them that. Even if they did get control of these resources they'd just piss their money away buying armaments or breeding more people to compound their problems."

Loss of jobs.

But many Third World Nations are arguing for conservation of undersea minerals until land-based resources are used up. They worry that the little capital they get from the sale of basic metals such as copper will disappear if the multinationals are able to process these metals directly from the sea.

"Of course there's an advantage to not having to be dependent on every dictator who comes along and says he's not going to ship any more copper," says Dr. Mero, using the example of Allende in Chile. "But generally, these mines in Chile and Zaire are the more productive ones and will continue operating even after sea mining has gotten underway in the '80s. It's the marginally productive mines like those in the U.S. that will be shut down."

"The unions would probably object if they knew what the implications of ocean mining were," he admits. "But you always have special interests. We're really only talking about risking the jobs of 20-30,000 miners, which is nothing—not in terms of the development of a new industry like this."

The politicians in Washington seem to agree. Senators Stevens, Metcalf, Bree and Murphy, among others, have introduced and supported legislation in the Commerce committee, Interior committee and the Energy sub-committee to in-

sure American-based multinationals against losses in the eventuality that the government enters into a treaty restricting their ability to mine the deep. In effect, the taxpayer will take the "risk" on the capital that the multinationals invest depriving 20-30,000 Americans of their jobs.

U.S. may act on its own.

But the risk may not be that great. Rather than sign an international treaty not to its liking, the U.S. may wreck the Law of the Seas Conference by refusing to attend when it reconvenes in Geneva this March. This is what Elliot Richardson has suggested doing if the Third World members of the conference refuse to take a more "realistic" stand.

In a recent editorial the *San Diego Union* agreed with Richardson, arguing that "we have discharged our international responsibilities by eight years of sincere negotiations. We have offered reasonable tradeoffs. In times of peace we would lose more by forfeiting treasures from the deep than we would in reduced traffic through international straits... In time of global war the United States shouldn't have to worry about navigation. Which of the Law of the Seas Conference nations could challenge us?"

And so the lines are drawn. On one side U.S. Steel, Union Miniere, International Nickel, Lockheed, Royal Dutch Shell, Standard Oil of Indiana, SEDCO, Mitsubishi. On the other Portugal, Turkey, Cameroon, Peru, India, Burma, Angola, Vietnam. The American government has solidly aligned itself with the multinationals. Our next confrontation with the Third World might just take place 20,000 leagues under the sea.

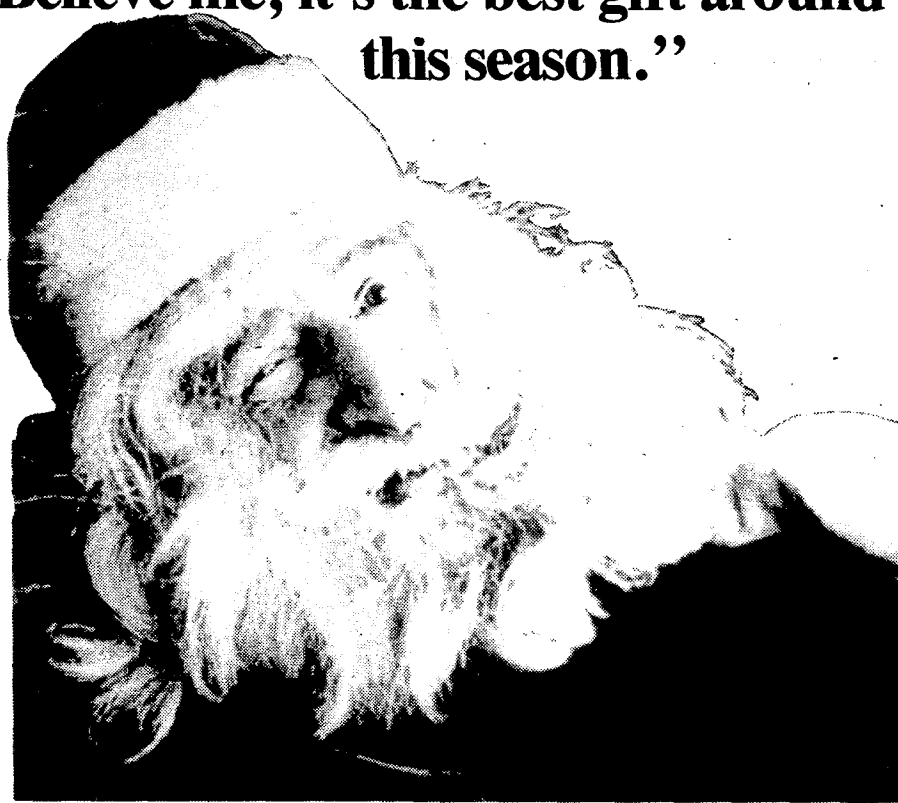
David Helvarg is a free-lance writer in San Diego.



Photos by Ken Firestone

Over 700 people attended the all-day *In These Times* anniversary Chautauqua (above). Barry Commoner (right) gave a keynote address on energy.

"When stagnation hit the reindeer industry where else could I turn? Sure, I'm a socialist and *In These Times* makes sense to me. It gives me the kind of broad news coverage I need. Give a holiday gift subscription to your friends now. Believe me, it's the best gift around this season."



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In These Times celebrates birthday

What is in mind is a sort of Chautauqua ... an oldtime series of popular talks intended to edify and entertain, improve the mind and bring culture and enlightenment to the ears and thoughts of the hearer. The Chautauquas were pushed aside by faster-paced radio, movies and TV, and it seems to me the change was not entirely an improvement. Perhaps because of these changes the stream of national consciousness moves faster now, and is broader, but it seems to run less deep.

—Robert M. Pirsig in *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*

Over 700 people gathered in Chicago's Blackstone Hotel Dec. 3 to celebrate *IN THESE TIMES*' first birthday. The day-long Chautauqua featured a wide array of socialists including Barry Commoner, head of the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems; Liz McPike, of Women Employed, DSOC National Board member, and former Illinois co-director of the State, County and Municipal Employees; Studs Terkel, author of *Working* and *Talking to Myself*; Ed Sadlowski, candidate for president of the United Steel Workers union in 1977; and Dorothy Healey, long-time Communist party leader and now prominent in the New American Movement.

The large majority of conference participants were Chicagoans, but contingents of *ITT* supporters traveled from San Francisco, New York, Detroit, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Lexington, Ky., and other places.

Founded in November, 1976, *IN THESE TIMES* has grown in one year to an average paid circulation of 11,400—9,500 paid subscribers and 1,900 bulk sales.

The Chautauqua's political tone was set at the outset when editor and co-publisher James Weinstein argued the indispensability of a "popular socialist newspaper" in the context of discussing the disappearance of socialism as a serious point on the national political agenda. (See page 18 for the text of Weinstein's speech.)

Associate Editor Martin Sklar went on to outline the conflict between the two American dreams—the dream of popular democracy and the dream of wealth—and their outcome in the development of corporate capitalism. This process resulted in the violation of a central ideal of American political culture: the principle of the sovereignty of the people.

"Increasingly, the needs, desires and aspirations of the people are in conflict with the corporate system, which is also

the system of state power," Sklar declared. "We're at a juncture in American history where the capitalist class system has had to repudiate its own past democratic tradition of the sovereignty of the people and the supremacy of society over the state."

The implications of Weinstein's and Sklar's analyses are that the nation now stands in a crucial historical period where democratic socialism can be put forward as the only solution to our social ills consistent with what is best in the American tradition and able to meet the people's daily needs.

Highlight of the conference was a magnificent, one-and-one-half hour speech by Barry Commoner, criticizing President Carter's energy program, in which he guided the listener from basic thermodynamics, through the economic roots of the energy crisis to how our waste of energy reflects fundamental defects in the capitalist system.

"We're using energy in such a way as to waste energy, waste capital and put people out of work," he charged, pointing to nuclear power plants as a particularly "dumb way to boil water" for the purpose of producing electricity. Commoner also said that the campaigns against nuclear plants and for alternative energy sources are the "cutting edge" of the anti-capitalist movement.

At both the plenary sessions and the workshops there was a notable absence of sectarian quibbling, even on the part of those who expressed differences with *ITT*'s editorial perspective or particular stands the paper has taken. As Dorothy Healey remarked, the paper stands for "unity with diversity," but there are times when the editorials "send me up the wall."

The labor coverage of *ITT* was singled out for particular praise. "Up until a year ago, I was searching for something to read when I heard that there was a special kind of paper in the making," commented Ed Sadlowski in his plenary address, "a paper that would be talking about organized labor not only on the shop floor but also in the socially significant sense. *IN THESE TIMES* has not let me down on that score."

"I don't see banking institutions or fraternal organizations saying anything that is going to be better for my class. I see institutions and publications like *IN THESE TIMES* speaking out. If *ITT* can reach enough people, and get them thinking about what society should be all about, it's going to be a better tomorrow."

IN THE WORLD

Cracks in Somoza machine

Carter confusion over continuing aid to Nicaragua's ruler shakes regime. Guerillas gain key liberal support.

By Marc Lindenberg
In recent weeks cracks have begun to appear in the Nicaraguan political machine run almost uninterruptedly for 43 years by the family of President Anastasio Somoza Debayle. During Gen. Somoza's convalescence in the U.S. following his heart attack in late July, individuals within his own Liberal party and the military, as well as members of opposition political parties, church and business groups have brought increasing pressure to bear upon the regime.

The U.S. has given unquestioned support to the regime since 1933. Carter appointees at the State department are trying to hammer out decisions about military and economic aid to Nicaragua against the backdrop of the Somoza regime's blotched human rights record, but it has been giving mixed signals.

U.S. aid crucial.

Although the \$18 million combined U.S. military and economic aid package presently proposed for Nicaragua is small in absolute terms, this tiny Central American country continues to be one of the highest per capita U.S. aid recipients in Latin America. In 1975 U.S. aid to Nicaragua was equivalent to 14 percent of its central government expenditures, the second highest percentage for any Latin American country.

Despite relatively high levels of U.S. aid in the past ten years Nicaragua's 2.3 million population ranks in the lower third of Latin American countries on measures of life expectancy, literacy, infant mortality and nutrition. On a recently constructed index of the physical quality of life, published by the Washington based Overseas Development Council, Nicaragua fell in the bottom five of 20 Latin American countries.

While it is difficult to document the impacts of U.S. aid on improved levels of living, it is easier to observe strong Nicaraguan support for U.S. positions on Nationalist China, Israel, Cuba and Puerto Rico in the UN and Organization of American States (OAS) meetings.

The Somoza Machine.

Since 1933 the Somoza family has maintained its power through a well greased political machine comprised of the Liberal party, the military and business. The current Chief Executive, West Point educated Gen. Somoza, is also Commander and Chief of the Armed Forces. He appoints and removes all government ministers without Congressional approval. There is no formally required congressional audit of public revenues spent by the executive branch of government.

Somoza-owned business or joint ventures include the local airline, Lanica, a major bank, Banco de Centroamerica, one of the two daily newspapers, *Novidades*, as well as a string of companies in agriculture, manufacturing and commerce.

In addition to direct control of the government apparatus, the military and much of the private sector, Somoza representatives play key roles in allocating the share of leftover economic activities to the remaining business groups, the Banco de America and the Banco Nicaraguense group. According to one Nicaraguan scholar, "People are in a precarious



The Somozas have ruled Nicaragua since 1937. Here Gen. Anastasio Somoza Garcia, the father of the present ruler, holds up a machinegun at a 1955 press conference in which he denied any role in the assassination of Panama's president. The next year Somoza was assassinated himself, and replaced by the present rulers' older brother.

position of dependency on Gen. Somoza, which could cost them their job at any time. Loyalty and servility are rewarded by movement up the ever-ascending ladder of wealth and power. Rebellion is punished immediately and cruelly, usually by dismissal and humiliation of the employee."

The human rights issue.

The government's recent difficulties stem from repercussions due to alleged human rights violations that took place during counterinsurgency activities against the Sandinist Front (FSLN). The Sandinist Front, a group whose pamphlets profess a neo-Marxist ideology, raided a reception for the American ambassador in December 1974, killed four people and held 42 others hostage. The hostages were released in return for 14 political prisoners, \$1 million and a plane to evacuate the group to Cuba. After the raid the government invoked martial law and press censorship and launched an extensive counterinsurgency campaign.

Nicaraguan church and opposition leaders allege that innocent Nicaraguan citizens were caught in the vice the government attempted to close on the Sandinistas. In May 1976 three Nicaraguan Catholic Bishops visited Gen. Somoza to report that 100 parishioners disappeared in the areas of Ocotal, Matagalpa and Siuna. In January 1977 all seven Nicaraguan bishops signed a pastoral letter of protest to be read from church pulpits. The letter reported a new round of disappearances in the areas of Kaskitas and Varrillal as well as the torture of church functionaries.

In addition to church indignation, the oldest opposition party, the Conservative party, as well as UDEL, a coalition of 13 other opposition groups, called for formal investigation of the charges.

Congressional crossfire.

Alleged human rights violations in Nicaragua provided ammunition for complicated congressional crossfire that initially caught the Carter administration in the middle.

In mid June 1977 anti-Nicaraguan military aid forces led by U.S. Rep. Edward Koch (D-NY) and Rep. Clarence Long (D-Md) won the first battle to get the House Appropriations committee to

vote 22 to 21 to revoke military sales credits to Nicaragua. Pro-Nicaraguan forces, however, won the final battle one week later when the House voted 225 to 180 to restore military aid to Nicaragua.

Reps. Charles Wilson (D-TX) and John Murphy (D-NY), a long-time personal friend of Gen. Somoza and fellow West Point graduate, helped mobilize the pro-Nicaragua groups. The government of Nicaragua also hired William Cramer, the General Counsel to the Republican National Committee, and Fred Korth, the former Secretary of the Navy, as lobbyists.

The Carter administration helped tip the balance in favor of the pro-Nicaraguan aid groups by lobbying against congressionally mandated aid cuts to specific countries. An aide to Rep. Stokes (D-OH) said that President Carter explained his opposition to country cuts convincingly to Stokes and other congresspersons at breakfast meetings. In addition, several days before the House vote, Terrance Todman, Assist. Sec. of State for Inter-American Affairs, sent letters to U.S. Reps. Long, Murphy, Cederberg and O'Brien urging them to help restore military assistance to Nicaragua.

Although the administration had supported restoration of aid to Nicaragua it was unwilling to allow the Somoza-owned newspaper *Novidades* to call the House vote an unqualified "show of support." The U.S. embassy countered a jubilant *Novidades* article with its own press release asserting that U.S. aid to Nicaragua was contingent upon improvements in the human rights situation. The government of Nicaragua censored the opposition newspaper, *La Prensa's* attempt to publish the press release.

A severe heart attack.

The Somoza machine appeared to be bearing up well against both domestic opposition and U.S. pressure until Gen. Somoza suffered a severe heart attack in late July and was rushed to the Miami Heart Institute for medical treatment. Within weeks key military and Liberal party members reportedly tried to enhance their power positions.

Opposition groups used the General's absence to bring new pressure to bear. In August, a UDEL opposition proclamation called for "lifting the State of Siege,

freedom of political and labor organization, appointment of a competent non-Somoza family member as head of the armed forces, establishment of the rule of law and a general amnesty for those presently in exile."

Upon his return from the U.S., Gen. Somoza lifted the State of Siege and concurrently removed key dissidents from within his own ranks. He reportedly expelled Cornelio Heuck, Sec. Gen. of the Liberal party, from his position, reprimanded Alejandro Montiel and arrested Ivan Alegret, both senior officers in the Nicaraguan National Guard.

However, increasing domestic opposition and continued poor health have made it difficult for Gen. Somoza to regain his equilibrium.

In mid-October Sandinist Front guerrillas made a series of attacks on San Carlos, Masaya and Ocotal. Concurrently 12 nationally prominent Nicaraguans issued a statement asserting that "lasting peace cannot be achieved without the participation of the Sandinist Front." The Nicaraguans include members of the business community, lawyers and religious leaders.

U.S. policy confusion.

The uncertainty of the Nicaraguan political situation has been compounded by confusion in what has been characterized as "the Carter administration's carrot and stick approach" to aid for countries with murky human rights records.

The administration fought for and won from Congress the flexibility to disburse or withhold aid after a review of changes in a country's human rights climate. But recent State department decisions about Nicaragua make it difficult to decide whether the administration is using carrots or sticks and which Nicaraguan groups are on the blunt end of them.

In late September, Deputy Sec. of State Warren Christopher recommended signing a new military aid agreement with Nicaragua. At the same time a committee chaired by Christopher withheld support of the economic aid package including a nutrition and education loans. The loans are reportedly designed to focus on the needs of the "poorest" 40 percent of the Nicaraguan population.

To some Nicaraguan opposition mem-

Continued on page 10.



Prime Minister Winston Churchill, President Franklin Roosevelt and Premier Josef Stalin at Yalta in February 1945.

UPI

A different world if FDR had lived?

U.S. goals were better served by the cold war than by accepting Soviet rule in Eastern Europe.

SHATTERED PEACE: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State

By Daniel Yergin
Houston Mifflin, \$15

Shattered Peace is the most illuminating study of the origins and development of the cold war yet produced. Undoubtedly there will someday be a better account, but probably not until the Soviet archives on World War II are extensively open to western scholars.

Yergin argues that the development of the cold war and the construction of the national security state between 1945 and 1948 was largely the product of post-Roosevelt American leaders selecting a certain "mindset" about the Soviet Union. According to this mindset, the Soviet Union was a revolutionary state with which agreements to settle conventional diplomatic issues were impossible.

Yergin calls this mindset the "Riga" axioms, because they reflected the analysis of the Soviet Union as an implacable foe of capitalism that had been developed by the first American Soviet experts, stationed in Riga, after the Bolshevik Revolution. These experts, including George Kennan, Charles Bohlen and Robert Kelley, dominated American policy toward the Soviet Union, with minor exceptions, until the outbreak of World War II, when Franklin Roosevelt jettisoned them.

Was FDR different?

Pragmatist that he was, Roosevelt immediately recognized that the German invasion of Russia in 1941 gave the Riga axioms a "startling loss of relevance." Roosevelt and his wartime ambassador to Russia, Joseph E. Davies, then virtually ignored the Riga experts.

Yergin argues that despite momentary doubts about the degree to which the U.S. could work with the Soviets in the postwar world, FDR thought in terms of a great power consortium, some sort of inclusion of the Soviet Union "based on the realities of international politics." At home he [FDR] tried to obscure this basic program in the idealistic Wilsonian language...the *lingua franca* of postwar thinking." Yergin implies that had Roosevelt lived the Soviets would probably have gotten their postwar loan, hence reconstruction prior to Germany. This general approach Yergin calls the "Yalta axioms."

I believe that this is the weakest part of the book. It may be that Roosevelt had intended to reconstruct allied Russia before enemy Germany and grant the Soviets a police role in eastern Europe, but the "realities" of power within the U.S. were against it, as was "bourgeois democratic" reality.

Imagine for a moment that FDR's Secretary of State (even a sophisticate like Averill Harriman) went before the House Ways and Means committee and/or the Senate Finance committee and argued for granting a \$5 to \$10 billion loan to Russia and postponing German reconstruction until the Soviet Union was rebuilt. Since Germany has always been the power plant of Europe, this would have slowed west European reconstruction, allowing powerful Communist and Socialist movements in France, Italy, Belgium and Germany to threaten, if not socialism, at least troublesome state capitalism. It would also have given further impetus to occupation authorities in the British zone of Germany who were talking about nationalizing the coal mines, with Ernest Bevin's strong approval. Quick dollar-funded reconstruction would avoid all such threats.

It would not have taken very long for Congress and public opinion makers to see that priority for Soviet reconstruction would increase the political, social, economic and (let us admit) strategic weight of the Soviet Union on the continent of Europe. Whatever F.D.R.'s personal inclinations, it would appear to all with the slightest knowledge of the "realities of power" that even if the Riga axioms

had not made sense during the war, a continuation of policies based on the Yalta axioms would result in one great power on the continent of Europe—a power with an alien, if not hostile social system.

Power realities.

Yergin is not altogether convincing when he tries to explain the switch back from Yalta to Riga by arguing that American leaders were "again gripped by messianic liberalism, the powerful urge to reform the world that had been called Wilsonianism." Really he makes some small case for only one prominent American not being gripped by it, albeit an important one, Franklin Roosevelt. The case that he tries to make for President Truman, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and others is not convincing.

The realistic world-capitalist objectives that American leaders had were better served by proclaiming their messianism than by accepting a Soviet sphere of power in Europe. It is more logical to assume that had FDR lived he would have ended up about where John Foster Dulles was on Nov. 8, 1945.

"To secure unity, it may be necessary to compromise ideals," Dulles explained. "On the other hand, it may be possible to maintain ideals but only at the expense of the division of the world into spheres of influence. The choice between the two alternatives is not an easy one. I do not think we are yet face to face with that alternative, because we have not yet given

our principles their best chance to succeed."

Is that, after all, not what the cold war has been about? Did not American leaders try to make one world, i.e., realize their "ideals," in Dulles' terms! With the failure of the cold war to disintegrate the Soviet sphere, American leaders must accept spheres. There are good strategic, economic, and even ideological reasons to do so.

But from the standpoint of power realities, economic objectives, and ideological "mindsets" there was no reason why American rulers, including FDR, should have had to accept a special place for the Soviet Union in Europe at any time between 1945 and 1956.

Individuals do make a difference, as Yergin argues, but when ideology, strategic doctrine and economic interest are on one side (in this case the side of the Riga doctrine) even a very powerful personality exercising great institutional power like Franklin Roosevelt would probably have had to give way.

Despite these weaknesses, *Shattered Peace* remains a fine book, and when read in combination with books like Gabriel and Joyce Kolko's *The Limits of Power*, can tell us as much as we can presently know about the development of the cold war and the national security state.

—Carl Parrini

Carl Parrini is professor of history at Northern Illinois University and author of *Heir to Empire*.

Somoza's Nicaragua

Continued from page 9.

bers it looks like the U.S. withheld the carrots and is about to hand the Somoza government sticks.

In a recent *Washington Post* article John Goshko and Karen DeYoung explained that State department officials wanted to reward the Somoza government for lifting the State of Siege while still making it clear the the department "wanted to see more improvement." Although it would have been logical to withhold military aid while approving econom-

ic aid, the military agreement is due to expire if it was not signed by the end of September. At the same time, the economic package could be carried over until next year without loss of funds.

While this logic is clear to some Nicaraguans, to others it sounds like an exercise in "double think."

Marc Lindenberg is an assistant professor at the Graduate School of Public Affairs, University of Washington. He is presently working on a book about Central American politics and the public sector and travels to Central America frequently.

MIDDLE EAST

Egypt grooms alternatives to PLO

By Geoffrey Aronson

JERUSALEM—President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem last month has given greater visibility and legitimacy to conservative figures in the West Bank and Gaza, many of whom have been speaking out strongly in recent months for a reassessment of the PLO's position as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

President Sadat's meeting on Sunday, Nov. 20, with major West Bank and Gaza personalities, all of whom are identified to one degree or another with Jordan, raises the possibility of the emergence of a movement of West Bank and Gaza figures, legitimized by Israel, Jordan and Egypt, who could offer an alternative to official PLO representation in peace negotiations. It is not yet clear that this prospect will materialize, but events in recent months appear to signal a willingness by Jordan, Israel, and now Egypt to engage in at least tacit cooperation in pursuit of this objective.

Jordan-Israel agreement.

Jordan has never resigned itself to the forfeiture of sovereignty on the West Bank. The Hashemites still maintain very strong ties with political and economic leaders in the Territories. Lately Jordan has been devoting greater resources to legitimizing its claim.

Analysts here believe that King Hussein's statement that "Arafat is not the only one who could represent the Palestinians at Geneva," reported in the Hebrew daily *Haaretz* Oct. 12, indicates current Jordanian policy. Adnan Abu Ode, Jordanian Minister of Information and Minister for the Occupied Territories, appears to be the official charged with promoting Hashemite claims in the West Bank.

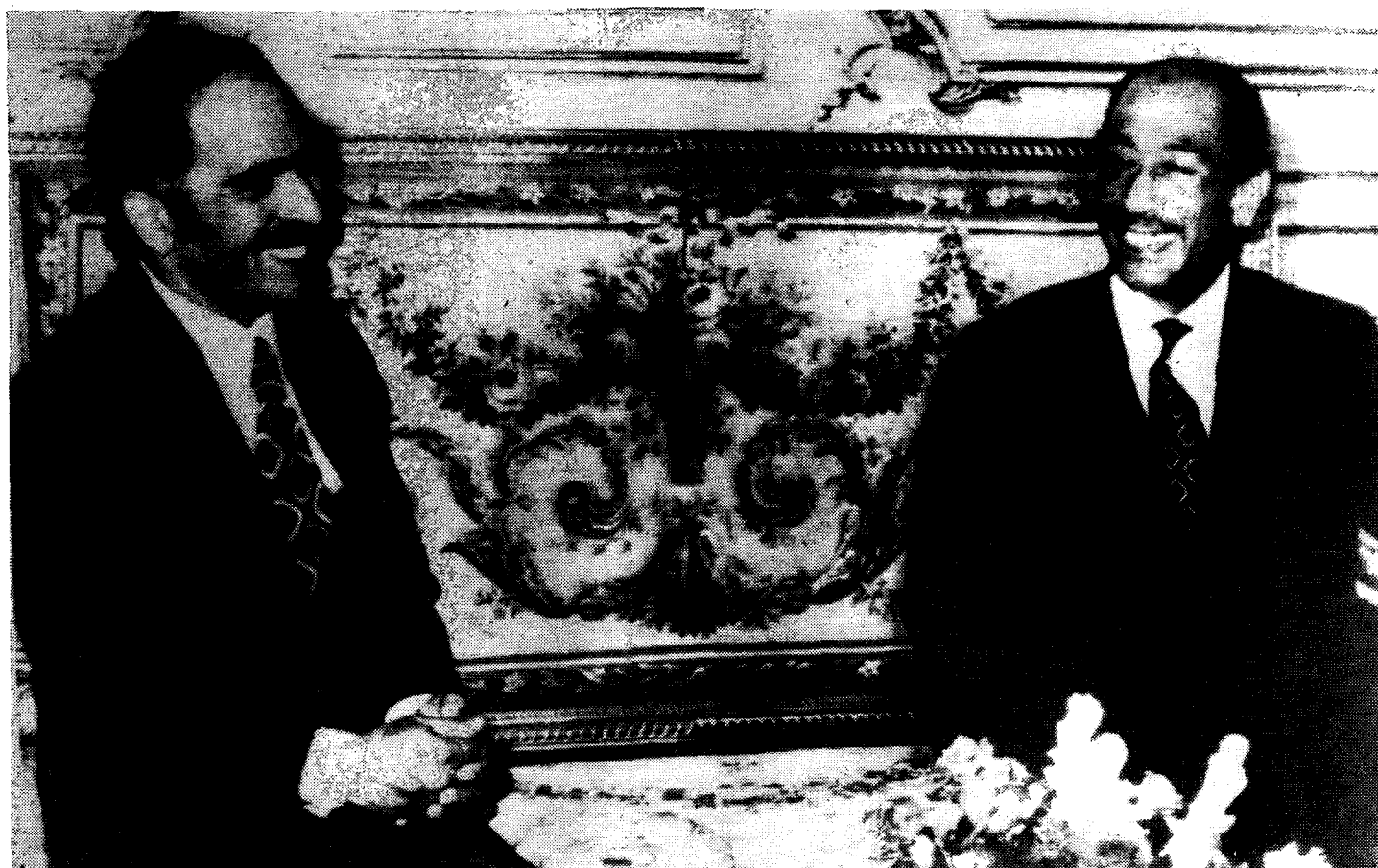
But the personalities that have publicly challenged the PLO—Mustapha Doudin, former Jordanian cabinet minister, Hussein a-Shayuhi, a Ramallah attorney, and Bourhan Ja'abbari, have been condemned by popular opinion in the Territories as well as by the "Voice of Palestine" in Cairo. More respectable personages are not ready to risk open confrontation with the PLO, whose star in international politics may yet rise again.

The Israelis are known to be quietly canvassing West Bank and Gaza figures in the hope that a political alternative to the PLO can be developed. "Israel would, in principle, encourage any Palestinian factor voicing opposition to the terror organization's paths and methods," declared Israeli Minister of Defense Ezer Weizmann in a recent interview.

Jordanian and Israeli interests on the West Bank, while strategically antagonistic, are at this juncture, tactically congruent. It has been reported that Jordan and Israel have tacitly agreed to promote forces seeking to reestablish Jordanian rule in the Territories. Indicative of this was the Israeli support offered Hussein a-Shayuhi, whose Jordanian patronage is well known, in arranging a press conference at Beit Agron, the Israeli government press office. In contrast, a press conference scheduled by mayors hostile to the Jordanian initiative was cancelled by the military government.

Palestinian dilemma.

At the center of Israeli and Jordanian hopes are figures such as Hickmet al-Masri and Anwar Chatib, whose business and political ties to Jordan are strong, and who, in spite of nationalist sentiments, are concerned about the viability of PLO leadership. These men, while leaders in their own communities, exercise little influence over the dynamics of the political whirlwind into which they have been thrust. Members of the old guard, they have survived and prospered through cautious application of opinion and sentiment. They are attempting to maintain a tenuous equilibrium among competing Israeli, Jordanian, PLO, and Egyptian demands.



King Hussein of Jordan with Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat.

Wide World

Hickmet al-Masri, owner of a prosperous vegetable oil factory in Nablus and a former Speaker of the Jordanian Parliament, reflects the dilemma into which men of his background find themselves. In a recent interview, al-Masri stated: "The PLO is like a government. They are considered to be the only organization which can select Palestinian representatives [to Geneva]. No one would go if only Israel selected the leaders of a Palestinian delegation. It's none of their business."

Mr. al-Masri outlined his political preferences for the Territories: "After the Israeli withdrawal, an international committee would be formed as a substitute for the Israeli government. New administrative and political institutions would be organized and allowed to develop. Only then would we come to a decision on the character of the Palestinian state."

"At the same time we won't be isolated from the Arab States-Jordan. There will be a federation, a confederation. There

will be the biggest cooperation between the West Bank and Jordan. I think that this is the general feeling among the leadership."

Three basic perceptions important in the calculation of the nature of Palestinian representation emerge from interviews such as this conducted throughout the West Bank. First, the PLO is unanimously regarded as the *institutional framework* through which Palestinians must be represented in any peace negotiations. Second, the *consent* of the PLO is a prerequisite to any Palestinian participation in such talks. Third, the future of a Palestinian state is inextricably tied to the Arab world, particularly Jordan.

Sadat's role.

Sadat's call for a followup meeting in Cairo only serves to confirm the growing identity of Israeli and Egyptian notions concerning the role of local Palestinians in peace negotiations. The current Egyptian initiative, taken with active Israeli as-

sistance, is apparently aimed at promoting the candidacy of West Bank and Gaza personalities, who, while officially "chosen" by a greatly weakened PLO, will be only nominally under PLO authority.

It remains to be seen what action hard-line PLO supporters will be able to muster to combat the Sadat initiative. Basan a-Shaka, the mayor of Nablus, and Karim Chalaf, the mayor of Ramallah, have vociferously condemned Sadat's visit as well as the idea of substituting West Bank, or American, Palestinians for official PLO representatives. Public opinion in the Territories, however, has rallied behind Sadat's visit to Jerusalem.

Rejectionist sentiments are confined to those who fear a diminution of PLO influence and the reassertion of Hashemite authority in the Territories. The Rejectionists, like their more moderate antagonists, are waiting, as politicians in the Territories always have, for a more concrete determination of Arab policy. ■

Behind Sadat's gamble on peace

By Ian Lustick
Pacific News Service

Why has Egyptian President Anwar Sadat risked his standing in the entire Arab world to visit Israel? While the historic visit itself was conceived only recently, it in fact climaxed a five-year-old policy to turn Egypt away from an unending military build-up for a new Middle East war and towards massive economic development of one of the poorest nations in the world. Closely linked to this shift was Sadat's policy to decouple Egypt from the Soviet Union, once its chief arms supplier, and link up with the U.S., Israel's chief ally.

Today, as a result of this two-pronged campaign, Egypt has inescapable vested interests in lasting peace. As a result of its rupture with the Soviet Union, Egypt is too weak militarily to wage a new war with Israel. And the area where Egypt has made its biggest economic effort—the Suez Canal and its surrounding cities—would be the prime target in any new war.

Stuck to U.S.

The most indicative fact, Egypt's present military weakness, is a direct result of President Sadat's 1972 decision to expel Soviet advisers and—just last year—to cancel Egypt's "Treaty of Friendship" with the USSR. The move was recently characterized by one high-

ranking Egyptian official as a calculated attempt to prove to the U.S. and Israel that Egypt is not contemplating war and does not threaten Israeli security.

By so doing, this official added, Sadat hopes to mobilize American support for a peace agreement with Israel that would include return of the territories occupied in June 1967. "Sadat has burned his bridges to the Soviet Union, but it is not correct to say that he is stuck with the Americans. He has stuck himself to the United States," the official said.

Egypt's commitment to peace is also evidenced by the enormous investment the country is making in the reconstruction and development of the Suez Canal area.

The three cities along the canal—Suez, Ismailia and Port Said—were all but destroyed between 1967 and 1973. Most of the area's more than half million inhabitants were forced to leave, but since the 1973 war Egypt has invested over \$1 billion of carefully accumulated development funds in the rebuilding and repopulation of this area. Projects now underway and slated for completion by 1980 will involve the expenditure of another \$1.3 billion.

Building up canal area.

In Ismailia and Suez huge new housing projects, complete with supermarkets, post office, schools and other facilities, have provided homes for the refugees and

for thousands of new residents. The population of the canal area now exceeds its pre-1967 level, and the waiting list for entrance into the more than 85,000 new and restored housing units averages about six months.

Aside from housing, work is well underway on a series of tunnels that will pass underneath the canal and link Egypt directly with the Sinai peninsula. Oil refineries have been put back in operation, and new factories are being built. All along the canal Japanese and British technicians are supervising a huge dredging operation designed to widen and deepen the canal to allow it to be used by today's fleets of supertankers. In addition to these undertakings a "free zone" for commerce and investment has been created in Port Said, on the Mediterranean end of the Suez Canal, and two others are planned for Ismailia and Suez.

All in all, Egypt's economic stake in continued peace with Israel is enormous, because each of these projects would most likely be destroyed in the course of a new war. And they are, in effect, concrete signals to Israel that Egypt is ready for a permanent end to the state of belligerence. ■

Ian Lustick is assistant professor of government at Dartmouth, where he specializes in Mideast affairs. He is author of an upcoming book on Arabs in Israel.

Socialism Among th

Text and photography
by Dick J. Reavis

Campamento 2 de Octubre, a besieged and combative squatter settlement of 25,000 inside Mexico City, is a proving ground for Mexico's germinating socialist movement. But no one, inside the campamento or out, is sure whether socialist leadership or martial law will finally win the contest for dominance in the settlement or in the nation.

Mexico today has 63 million inhabitants, the fastest rate of population growth in the world, a lagging economy hobbled by an unemployment rate of nearly 40 percent, spiraling inflation, and a scarcity of investment capital. In Mexico City, 12 million people are pushing against boundaries that a few years ago contained 8 million, and by 1980 the city will be the largest in the world, with 16 million residents.

In the capital and the provinces alike, public works are at a standstill because the pervasive federal government can borrow no more from the usual international sources. Rising prices have overstepped the gains of Mexico's industrial working class, and two currency devaluations have jeopardized thousands of business enterprises, big and small.

Accelerated monetary instability and unprecedented population crisis have given rise to a socialist movement. Five legal organizations with national followings, including the Communist party, the Mexican Workers party, and the majority wing of the Popular Socialist party, have banded together in an electoral coalition, like the Popular Unity that hoisted Allende to the Chilean presidency. In October the Left Front won ballot status, forcing the repeal of restrictive provisions nearly 40 years old, and opening the way to the election of socialist members of Congress within the decade.

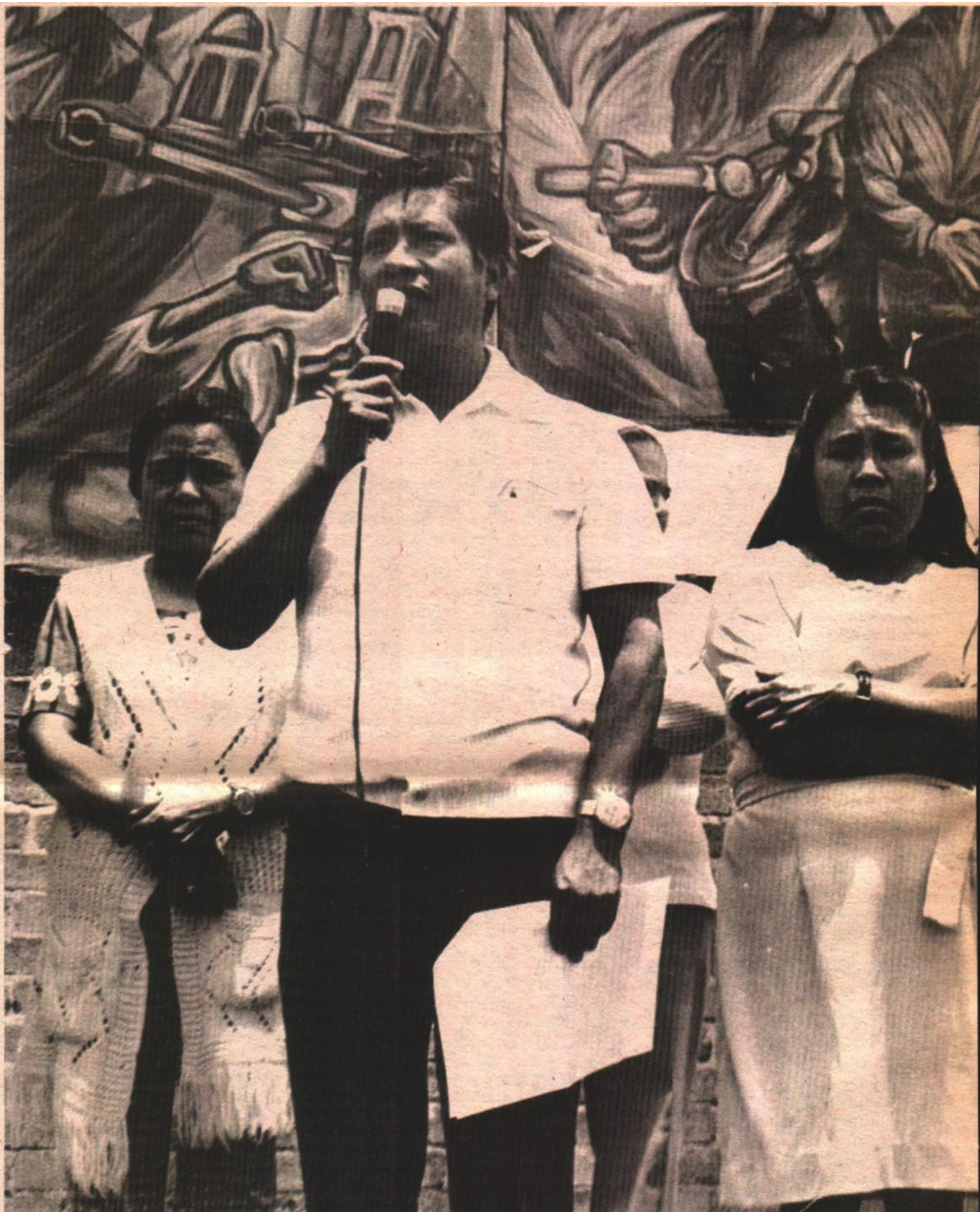
The armed revolutionary movement, nearly extinguished by the defeat of guerrilla Lucio Cabanas in 1974, has been resurrected and is now arming the peasantry. But Mexico's electoralists fear that the armed fighters will provoke a military coup, and the armed fighters suspect that the electoralists plan to sell out the common cause of socialism.

In the middle of this gaping enmity, holding the left together, stands the land movement, both urban and rural. Under the leadership of independent socialists, peasants and urban newcomers are seizing land for cultivation and homesites, defending themselves by direct action and legal means against both vigilante and court-ordained attempts to dislodge them.

The land movement is the nexus between workers and peasants, the *cause celebre* of students, the force that combines the most compelling legitimacy with the greatest base of support. 2 de Octubre is the most prosperous and best-organized, and possibly biggest, of Mexico's 100 squatter towns. It is unquestionably the model for other urban settlements and, in many ways, is the war college of Mexican socialism as a whole.

The transformation of 2 de Octubre from a refugee of uprooted peasants and disillusioned city dwellers to its current contradictory status—two Presidents have paid respects there, between invasions from the troops—is due in great part to Pancho Cruz, a man of legendary stature even outside the Campamento, and a leader to whom others write songs, and for whom one follower has sacrificed his life.

Both Pancho and his wife Daria—who are Mixtec Indians from the state of Oaxaca—came to *la capital* in 1958, hunting what Marx called “a habitation and the means to life.” After several months without either, Pancho and Daria drifted into



Pancho Cruz

Photos by

The town's executive committee thought the police were coming to kill Pancho Cruz. Miguel Garcia-Garcia volunteered to dress up like Pancho and surrender to the police. He walked toward the police shouting, “I am Pancho, what do you want?” In seconds he was dead



Campamento 2 de Octubre

e Squatters' Shacks

2 de Octubre, then a nameless, unorganized, haphazard hobo jungle on privately-owned land. Water was hauled into the settlement in barrels on the backs of burros, and new residents threw up tents and shacks from whatever was at hand.

Pancho peddled fruit, swept floors, and chopped up beef carcasses to pay the grocer. Like other Mexican peasants, he didn't think about politics. But Oaxaca, which produced the Mexican Revolution's most left-leaning leader, anarchist Ricardo Flores-Magon, had failed to teach Pancho the proper people's respect for his betters.

"The people who owned the land back then were haughty with us. We paid them their rent, but they wanted more. They wanted to lord it over us, and instinctively we rebelled at that. One day a boy here made small talk with the daughter of one of the landlords. When the landlord found out, he came and gave the boy's father a beating.

"The man was a pitiful sight, crying like a child. He was the head of a family, yet he couldn't stand up for his son without risking eviction from the lot they lived on. We carried him to the hospital, and then five of us went to the police station. We denounced the landlord, and he was jailed."

Afterwards, Pancho—who says he has since been offered a congressional seat and a job in the national petroleum institute—got his first taste of the unadulterated buy-off. "The landlord came to me and said he'd give me my lot free if I'd keep quiet about his case, which he said was none of my business, anyway. I thanked him for the offer, but turned him down."

Pancho had touched on power, however lightly, and he wanted to grab hold. "I saw a way out for my people, getting the rights we'd always been denied. But I had one problem. I couldn't read. I didn't mind people calling us poor, but when they called us stupid, I was stung." So at the age of 30, Pancho enrolled in primary school.

In 1962, when the government expropriated the land where the campamento sits, Pancho read the decree in public assembly. "We talked about the expropriation, but frankly, I didn't know what the word meant. Later on we found out that the government had taken over the land, supposedly to build housing for us, the poor. But that never happened."

What did happen is that the government began collecting rents to pay off the former landlords. Pancho did not rally a protest; by then, he was planning his way into law school, with financing from his neighbors. "We all thought that if I became a lawyer, maybe we could get our problems solved."

On campus Pancho picked up more than law. "I got in with the leftist students, who taught me a lot of things. They are a bunch of *grillos* (crickets, or noise-makers), I guess, but you have to know a few of them before you get really politicized." Pancho was one of the demonstrators fired upon the the Tlatelolco massacre on October 2, 1968—and in honor of the "*grillos*" killed there, he gave the campamento its name. Following the massacre, Pancho lost interest in law school: after all, lawyers had not been spared by the government's gunmen.

He was needed in the campamento anyway. Mexico City was broadening, and apartment buildings towered over the village, no longer on the outskirts of town. Residents knew that urban sprawl enhanced the value of the dirt beneath their tents and shacks and they took that to mean that they would soon be uprooted.

To ward off relocation, Pancho circulated a petition whose signers asked for

legal title to their lots by right of adverse possession. Their irregular village meetings went onto a schedule and organizing intensified. "We figured that if our claim was justified, as we thought it was, somebody would try to scare us off before the courts ruled in our favor."

He was right. Early one morning in October 1972 firebombs went off in the campamento. Soldiers showed up, but were held at camp's edge by rock-throwing residents, mainly women whose husbands were at work. Barricades went up, and in the Parisian-type battle that followed, five pregnant combatants suffered miscarriages. The troops were redoubled.

By sundown, only 20 of some 20,000 villagers remained; everyone else had fled. Pancho and his stalwarts dug in for a siege.

For three months, the troops refused to let milk and bread vendors enter. Water mains were shut off. Pancho and more than 50 others were jailed; women in the imprisoned group say they were tortured for nearly a week before their release. But meanwhile the campamento's adverse possession claim was nearing settlement.

Once out of jail Pancho and his *campañeros* set about regrouping the community. In March 1973, when the government gave in, 5,000 residents were back at home. By an out-of-court agreement the *colonos* or settlers were granted the right to buy their homesites for 85 pesos per square meter—about 5 percent of the cost of surrounding residential property. Within weeks, the campamento's population was up to 20,000 again.

A land rush was on. The government and the campamento's executive committee agreed that a census was needed to determine which families were entitled to the lot-purchase agreement. The census taken, a water pact was also signed, one that conferred legality on the pipes campamento plumbers had laid.

But the detente was a brief one; in August the troops were back again. The time the *colonos* did not run, because they believed the law protected them. Their kindergarten was burned by *granaderos* (riot police), and in the stick-and-stone conflict that lasted nearly a week some 43 residents were injured. Their resistance won, however: the riot troops pulled back, and this time there was no siege.

They thought they had grabbed the golden ring when, in the opening weeks of his year-long presidential campaign, Jose Lopez-Portillo came to the shantytown to praise the *colonos* for their will to self-improve—and to ask for the vote. But within 90 days, blue police buses pulled up at the campamento's boundaries and firebombs began going off. Two children burned to death in one shack where a bomb exploded—and that shack was next door to Pancho's. Pancho's house was charred, and with it, the census.

The town's executive committee decided that the police were bent on killing Pancho and ordered him to leave. To aid his escape, Miguel Garcia-Garcia, a 50-year-old bootblack and family man, volunteered to put on Pancho's clothes and surrender to the *granaderos*. Miguel walked towards the encirclement shouting, "I am Pancho. What do you want?" In second, he was shot dead. Government reports say a pistol was found on his body, hours later when troops dared to search the corpse. But meantime Pancho had slipped by.

Pancho lived in hiding for the next 11 months. The void of his exile was filled with others, cronies with little loyalty to Pancho's radicalism. Before long government spokesmen were in the village arranging a peace. A statue of Juarez was erected on the entry street and the campamento was named Colonia Juarez on billboards erected at roadside. A clinic was temporarily opened, along with a

government-owned grocery. Communists from a dozen parties still came to hold assemblies in the village, but their welcome had grown cold.

Unfamiliar families began showing themselves in the encampment, and some older residents headed out. Pancho's sturdiest supporters disliked the staid new order shaping up, but they used the prestige it brought them: President Portillo, at their behest, granted a clemency for Pancho.

Pancho was displeased by what he found on his return. "It was like treason to everything we had done here, to the whole struggle, nearly 20 years long. Miguel Garcia and the others didn't die just so the government could have a housing project," he says. Pancho called for the resignations of the executive committee that had served in the interim—and got them.

He and his own followers were elected to all the leading posts, and the ousted leadership moved away. Most townspeople celebrated the return of radicalism, and during the festivities they found time to build a brick house and adjoining office for Pancho.

Red flags went up in the campamento again. Plans were made for a pig-raising barn, a hospital and some dozen other projects. As a first step the new leadership reorganized the collective enterprises that had lost their zeal and, perhaps, their commitment to the community.

Pancho's followers also put in village hands the machinery to produce cement blocks, and organized neighborhood brigades of voluntary workers to operate the small plant.

Today, across the campamento's 90 hectares, shacks of sheet metal and tarpaper crowd wall-to-wall with newly-raised structures of concrete blocks made in the village brickyard. The tarpaper-and-tin shacks are coming down now, at a rate of about ten a week, because campamento brick sells at half the commercial rate, a price almost everybody can afford. There is no quiet in the settlement during daylight hours, because the shuffle and bang of construction never ceases.

The campamento's residents have also built themselves a four-room clinic, staffed by doctors who give consultations for \$1.50, medicine included, and who make house calls for \$2.50—provided, of course, that the patient can pay. Otherwise services are free. On an unnamed main street there's a community cafeteria, where delegations of farmworkers, campamento staffers, and visiting residents of other squatter towns are fed, free.

The community now has its own irregularly published newspaper, a darkroom, photography classes, and an adult literacy program that sometimes functions, sometimes breaks down under the weight of the obdurate peasant past. Until March the campamento had a consumer-owned bakery; its general store is still open, as is the community open-air market.

These collective holdings, however, are outnumbered by the dozens of *estancuquitos*, snow-cone stands, tortilla outlets, and repair shops residents have set up in the name of individual investment. "We've got just about everything here, including loan sharks," a high schooler tells me. Then he goes into a rap about how North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung has all the answers for Mexico. High school students from the campamento are like that.

Besides ideologues, the campamento has a paid muralist, a poet, a handicraftsman whom the government sends to cultural exhibitions in the U.S., dozens of firebrands, and musicians without number. Thirty songs have been written to

the community and Pancho's honor, and at least two have been recorded. Taxi drivers and postmen now live here, along with bread-peddlers, shade-tree printers and part-time painters. The campamento has a town transvestite and village drunk, but no policemen or priests.

Several years ago plumbers and electricians in the populace tapped electric and water lines for the community's use, and until this year utilities flowed free. Now the government has conceded a cloudy and imperiled legality to the village, and started sending bills for water and lights. Everybody pays a flat fee, because the makeshift lines that run to family homes are unmetered: the campamento's *ad hoc* utility installers had no use for registers, and if the government wants them, it will have to put them in.

What the community doesn't have yet is mail or telephone service. Its residents have made demands, and recently promises have been given in return. But those promises are, like many others from the PRI government, written in ice. What the residents of the campamento have gotten this fall, instead of civic improvements, is a new visitation from the troops.

The latest incursion is an attempt by the government to secure land inside the campamento for development of a shopping center. Though the disputed territory is unimproved, the residents don't want chain stores and outside merchants in the community, and they have erected a barricade to defend their turf. The result is a standoff, with troops on one side, periodically tossing tear gas canisters in the direction of the campamento's rock-throwing squads. Nobody, on either side of the impromptu battle lines, would take alarm at the new confrontation—it is so much like all the others—except that the campamento's renaissance is being menaced from the inside by unforeseen sabotage, land jealousies, and factional differences.

The community bakery went to ashes last March; 30 houses were lost ablaze in June, and all the fires were begun in the night, spreading quickly, fire-bomb style. Intense quarrels have broken out over who has a right to live in the campamento. With the original census gone, there's no trusted way of ruling on rights to property acquisition. "The government has provided us with what it says is a copy of the census, but we believe it has been altered. There are names on there we never heard of," Pancho declares.

"Reaccommodation," the process of resettling displaced residents, and certifying them for land titles, has become a dispute of nearly universal significance. Families which at one point or another abandoned the embattled campamento demand to be allowed back in. Those who took their places and sometimes their shacks pose as original residents—or claim property on the basis of loyalty to the campamento under fire.

Threats against Pancho have become commonplace on the fringes of the community, and in its center his supporters have been assaulted at night by people they identify with the ousted leadership. Once again, volunteer guards are patrolling the streets of 2 de Octubre. The community is barricaded, as before, against what it calls "the bourgeois government of the rich." But 2 de Octubre has bested fear of the government, and in many ways it has shown the authorities that it shall not be moved.

What causes anxiety is not the external, class enemy—but the very proletarian opposition within. If the campamento's history foreshadows that of Mexico, the path to socialism will bruise the feet of many before they get to a secure home. ■ Dick J. Reavis is a free-lance journalist in Austin, Texas, who recently returned from Mexico City.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Capitalist tools whittle living standards

Latest government figures show that 1976 real median family income was lower than in 1973 when it peaked at \$15,440 (in 1976 constant dollars). That means that the majority of American families have incomes below the \$16,236 designated by the Labor department as necessary for an "intermediate income level" for a family of four in a metropolitan area. This "intermediate" income allows for little above basic necessities: over 90 percent of it goes to pay for food, clothing, transportation, housing, and medical care.

In their study of the impact of inflation on Americans' standard of living, Gar Alperovitz and Jeff Faux of the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives show that the cost of the four basic necessities—food, shelter, energy, and health care—rose 7.5 percent per year from 1970 to 1976 as against a general inflation rate of 5.2 percent, or 44 percent greater for these necessities.

Inflation and taxes have so eroded real income that by 1976 a gross income of \$18,000 represented a lower real disposable income than a \$12,000 gross income in 1970.

The cost of two components crucial to a stable or improving standard of living—higher education and home-ownership—have also moved increasingly beyond the means of most American families as public subsidies in both areas have been sharply cut back.

According to Jon Margolis in the *Chicago Tribune* (Nov. 27), "That is the good news. The bad news is that, by most accounts, it will get worse before it gets better."

In common with lower income Americans, middle income Americans are experiencing an absolute decline in their living standards and, in growing numbers, a downward mobility for themselves and their children. The 1970s has come to resemble the 1930s even without a massive depression. Capitalism is making progress.

Along with real income, the incapacities of corporate-capitalism are eroding the work ethic as potently as all the "counter-cultural" trends put together, by undermining its key premise—that hard work brings improvement for oneself and one's family.

The various efforts at "reform" currently emanating from the White House or making their way through Congress promise only to aggravate the erosion of living standards with higher taxes and rising prices. This is as true of programs relating to energy and social security as

it is of those relating to unemployment insurance, import curbs, farm price supports, and environmental protection.

As the *Wall Street Journal* noted Dec. 5, the President's "economic advisers find themselves in a painful dilemma. ... They admit they don't have any solid solutions to the inflation problem..." Assistant Treasury Secretary Daniel Brill put it more bluntly. He cited the "intellectual bankruptcy in economics... because we obviously don't have the tools to deal with contemporary problems."

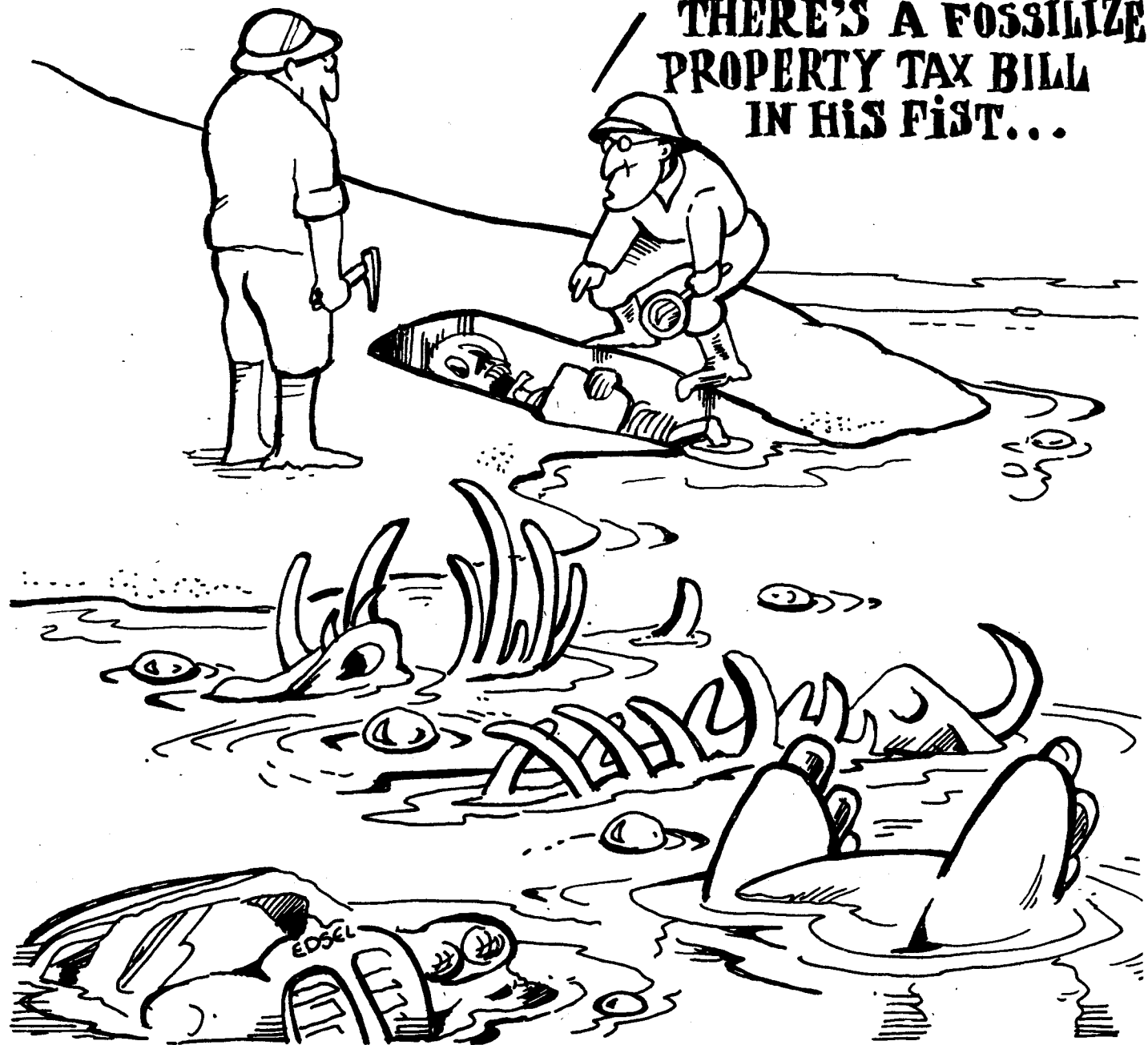
Translated, this means that within the

framework of corporate-capitalism, reforms capable of yielding improved standards of living for middle and lower income people have come to the end of the line. Those "tools" are no longer available, especially in the absence of such other familiar "tools" as a pump-priming war or extraordinary imperial expansion.

As long as the great corporations and banks control the investment and distribution system, the intended benefits of reforms will wash away in rising tides of prices and taxes.

New tools are necessary, but taking them up would mean putting aside the machinery devoted to preserving the corporate order. Capitalist tools can no longer restore the American house of work and culture. It's time to try some socialist tools and to build and move into a different house.

For information on its inflation study, readers may write to the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives, 2000 P Street NW, Suite 515, Washington, DC 20036.



More cells waxing in the honeycomb

In our coverage of the Democratic Agenda conference three weeks ago we indicated that we thought the event was of historic significance. Some of our readers have interpreted that opinion as a commitment on our part to the Democratic party, others have indicated that they don't know what we meant by it.

The Democratic Agenda conference was an important step forward in a developing campaign for full employment and an important spur to the mobilization of left Democrats and major left labor leaders working within the Democratic party. But of equal or greater significance, from a socialist point of view, was the reemergence of public discussion and debate around basic questions of corporate capitalism and of socialism as the democratic alternative. It has been more than 50 years since leaders of the country's major trade unions, movement activists, and substantial numbers of elected public officials have participated comfortably in a public event in which

speakers seriously discussed the necessity for socialism and in a way that was consistent with the American political culture. In that sense, the conference was an historic event.

In taking the initiative in providing a forum for the discussion of socialist alternatives within the main stream of American political life, DSOC has rendered a valuable service. People on the left who draw back from this effort, or who react with disdain or fear because DSOC is operating primarily within the Democratic party, or because some of the politicians and labor leaders involved are not "bona fide" socialists either are opposed to a politics of popular socialism or have a much too narrow conception of how such politics will emerge. In our view, every public manifestation of socialist consciousness and every expression, no matter how tentative, that social goals and democratic social planning are desirable, should be welcomed and encouraged.

This does not mean that we see the fu-

ture of popular socialist politics as necessarily tied exclusively or even mainly to the Democratic party. Nor does it mean that we urge socialists to renounce or cease activity in other arenas. We see the development of a popular movement for socialism occurring on many fronts and in many different ways. Our goal is to contribute to a basic realignment of American politics and to the emergence of a major party of socialism. This is a long-term process that cannot be blue-printed in advance, but that must work itself out as concrete manifestations of socialist consciousness and program developed from a wide range of movements, party and non-party alike, our purpose is to help identify such manifestations, to help develop communications among and between groups of people involved in various kinds of anti-corporate activities, and to contribute to the formulation of socialist principles and programs appropriate to a majority movement for socialism in the United States.

In the presidential election of 1976,

and before, DSOC focused heavily on attempts to influence the presidential nomination and on the election of Carter. But an encouraging aspect of the Democratic Agenda conference was the increasing attention given to the need for other forms of activity—to the election of legislators who will represent working people, and to the mobilization of popular pressure from local communities. This shift in emphasis reflects the growing awareness on the part of organized labor, women, blacks and others that more careful attention must be given to electing legislators who will be responsible to working class constituencies. It also reflects an understanding that labor and other popular forces can affect the character of legislative bodies more effectively than they can influence the executive branch.

In our view these are important steps toward the development of a mature and responsible socialist movement in this country.

Letters

Would have made a difference

Editor:

I have just read your latest issue (ITT, Nov. 30) and would like to compliment you on the fine articles you have written about the labor movement in this country.

I have been a campaigner for Ed Sadowski here in New Jersey and can say from experience that if we had more publications like the one you produce it would have made a big difference in the outcome of the Steelworkers election.

I have been with Local 6301 for over 17 years and it would interest me very much to see more articles printed on what's happening in Steel, especially about the hidden language that goes into our contract.

—Bill Groehrer
Kearny, N.J.

Woozy

Editor:

I'm writing to share a little something I composed in the bathtub (There's no shower, for those who think baths are bourgeois). It's on the on-going Naison-Marcuse-Cousy controversy, and is written in that most subtle of poetic forms, the limerick:

*As Mark Naison once asked on a
Tuesdee*

*Infant son now you can't be too choosy
Is it Herbert you're after
Or the shouts from the rafter
Oh boy Pop I just wanna be Cousy.*

—Danny Carter
Stuttgart, Ark.

Proliferating ACORN

Editor:

In his article on CAP in Chicago (ITT, Nov. 30) David Moberg identifies ACORN (the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) as being from the Great Plains. This is news to us.

ACORN currently has offices in Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Florida, Iowa, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Colorado. We can be defined by our country, the United States, and by our constituency, low-and-moderate income families (currently 10,000 member families), but not by region.

—Joshua Miller
Little Rock, Ark.

Houston

Editor:

The Houston International Women's Year Convention was exciting; I was very disappointed ITT had no coverage that week. It was quite an experience to be in the hall with thousands of women who were weeping, laughing, clapping and singing when the torch was carried in. I'm not so naive not to think that some of the speeches were sugar pills (some hard to swallow), but nonetheless all those women were there, together for the first time in a long time.

I met many interesting women, a revolutionary from South America, a "club woman" from the Midwest, students from all over—and it was such a good feeling. Here we were, walking down the streets of Houston, talking and talking—everywhere we went, conversations.

Several persons I talked to expressed interest in ITT. Betty and Ben Spock spoke favorably of the paper when I talked to them briefly in the convention hall.

—Penny Tremain
Pittsburg, Kan.

Chickenshits are in all lines of work

Editor:

I'll be honest with you, I never did have that much respect for the roundtable of chumps you call columnists, but the slandering of Schmidt as a "big time terrorist" (as compared to "small timers" such as the assholes of the R.A.F.) by Barbara Ehrenreich (ITT, Dec. 6) hits a new low.

Neither she nor I know if these murderers were themselves murdered. (I doubt it.) Ehrenreich can't believe an intelligent person would even find it plausible that weapons could be smuggled into a maximum-security prison. All the fancy-dan electronic doodads in the world depend on real live people to maintain and operate them (i.e. guards). Maybe she has more confidence in guards than I do. (I am a guard. In fact I'm writing this from the guard shack now, when I should be out freezing my butt off.)

But know this: there are at least as many chickenshits in this line of work as in any other. I find the government story plausible. "The" left shouldn't automatically jump on the anti-government side. However, if it turns out that the guards were at fault, you will have my apology (as unlikely as it would be onerous).

—Jerome Cusimano
Justice, Ill.

No double standards, please

Editor:

Hans Koning's item on "Human Rights," etc. (ITT, Nov. 23), manages, within a few paragraphs, to combine most of the traditional hackneyed excuses for oppression in the communist world (substitute any label you prefer).

1. Only Intellectual Elites Care About Freedom. Tell that to the different groups of rebellious workers, from East Berlin in 1953 to Poland a short time ago.

2. Anyway, Look At All The Material Gains. Square that with the fact that Russia can send up all kinds of satellites but has to scrounge its wheat from the U.S. and Canada, that China can explode atomic bombs but much of its agriculture still depends on plowing by human power (yes, not even oxen or horses).

3. Look At What The U.S. Has Been Doing Everywhere. Let me remind Koning that he probably did not go for that kind of argument when made by the other side, when Cold War suppressions were legitimized by references to Russian slave labor camps.

4. They Must Worry Constantly About What Else The U.S. Has Up Its Sleeve. Again, remember how the fear that the "Communists were out to destroy America" was utilized as a sufficient explanation for those liberals who reluctantly accepted the 1950s antics.

5. Worst of all, a combination of: You Can't Make An Omelet Without Breaking Eggs, and They Are Not Quite Ready For Freedom. This is what the reference to the need for "discipline" and the impossibility of achieving socialism with "volunteers" is all about.

I trust that most readers of ITT have, by now, rejected any notion of "socialism by the whip." Similarly, I hope they have given up a double-standard of judgment. Surely, let's always tell it like it is when discussing old-fashioned capitalist, welfare state capitalist or socialist democratic regimes. But, let us also maintain the same kind of tough-mindedness when describing Russia, China, Cuba, et al. The tragic disappointments of the past demands such honesty from socialists.

—William Spinrad
Glen Cove, N.Y.

Our omission

Editor:

I was disappointed that in my account of Dennis Kucinich's mayoral victory in Cleveland (ITT, Nov. 23) all reference to

his past racist tactics were edited out.

I understand the need for cutting and the time problem involved, but believe at least the phrase in the lead paragraph that he had a "spotty record on race," could have been left.

As a result, a misleading portrait of the candidate resulted.

While it's encouraging that a candidate won on progressive issues in Cleveland and while even politicians can change attitudes, Kucinich's popularity lies at least in part in his past racist tactics. That element would have made the report more realistic.

—Raldo Bartimole
Cleveland, Ohio

Kowtowing?

Editor:

Reading the articles on Citizens Action Program and Illinois Public Action Council (ITT, Nov. 30), I found it hard to believe they were written by the same person. These criticisms of CAP should have been made long before now. Like it or not, groups around the country trying to build activist/democratic organizations have looked to the CAP model for leadership and guidance. What CAP organizers, spokespeople and supporters shared were their organizational techniques, tactics and victories. What they didn't share were the problems and pitfalls of a staff-dominated, fund-raising-focused organization. It was good finally to see an analysis of CAP's problems that direct action organizations can learn from.

But the companion article about Illinois Public Action Council is devoid of such analysis. According to Moberg, the leaders of Public Action have learned from the mistakes they made as leaders of CAP. But will we have to wait two years to learn about the problems or shortcomings of this new, statewide organization?

New organizations need encouragement and they need support. They do not need to be rubber-stamped, especially by a Chicago-based publication that claims to be delivering a hard-hitting socialist analysis of the state of current organizing efforts in the U.S.

I realize that ITT, being the "new kid on the block," needs friends too, but kowtowing to the direct action establishment in Chicago is too high a price to pay.

—Lee Gulon
Durham, N.C.

David Moberg responds: Illinois Public Action Council may, indeed, deserve harsh criticism in two years (or less). For the moment its structure—putting more control over finances and local staff in the hands of constituent groups—provides some check on the ever-present problem of central staff domination. But that's only one of the pitfalls of direct action community groups, as the CAP article indicated.

"Senior Citizen" again (but not any more)

Editor:

Ruth Dear's letter to the editor (ITT, Dec. 6) deserves the appreciation of all thoughtful older people for criticizing her article on the Gray Panther national convention.

In an excellent essay entitled "Silent Winter," on the plight of the elderly, which appeared on the Op-Ed page of the New York Times, May 13, 1975, Fred R. Hechinger stated, "Those who dreamed up the term 'senior citizens' were engaged in a cover-up of the aged."

I followed up Hechinger's article with a letter to the Times urging the newspaper to drop the usage of "senior citizen" whenever possible. Adding to Hechinger's objection to the term, I said that it implies second-class citizenship to most of the elderly population who are struggling for existence on Social Security and possibly other meagre income. Moreover, "senior citizen" is hardly ever

used when referring to older establishment politicians and well-heeled elderly in our society.

The Times agreed with me. In a letter to me dated July 16, 1975, on behalf of the Managing Editor, A.M. Rosenthal, it stated: "We are in agreement to the point of taking note of this matter in the forthcoming new edition of the New York Times Style Book. Under the listing for the term in this book, our writers and editors will be advised as follows: 'Avoid whenever possible.'"

IN THESE TIMES would do well to adopt a similar policy on the usage of the term "senior citizen."

With best wishes for success to your splendid socialist periodical.

—Lou Goldberg
New York

Editor's note: We agree, and will avoid the term in future.

No slogans

Editor:

Now that I finally have a settled address I'll subscribe to your superb paper. It's such a joy and relief to find a left paper that doesn't sound as though it were written by a computer stuffed with slogans. Bad slogans, at that.

—Paul Stamler
University City, Mo.

In praise of Jane Melnick

Editor:

While many people have written in praise of ITT, I expect many more have thought about doing so. I am finally moved to write by the work of Jane Melnick. While so much photography in journalism is indifferent or merely sensational, hers is compassionate and insightful. This is another reason why ITT is superior to any past or present publication that I know of.

—David Anderson
Decorah, Ia.

Coors strike

Editor:

As you are aware, brewery workers at the Adolph Coors Co. in Golden have been on strike for more than seven months. Their demand is simple: they want a union contract which allows them the dignity of not being subjected to lie detector tests, body frisks and other arbitrary actions by Coors.

To pressure Coors into accepting that demand, the strikers and supporters throughout the nation have initiated a boycott of Coors beer. They boy-

Continued on page 17.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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Manning Marable

Does rising labor militancy foretell new black-white alliance?



This autumn marks a dramatic renaissance of militancy in the American labor movement. Virtually ignored or deliberately distorted by the white-owned media, the unusual uprising of working class people covers the entire spectrum of American industry. This labor activism means, in the long run, new possibilities for a black alliance with American labor.

In Virginia, Minn., thousands of steelworkers are on strike, demanding higher wages, better health care programs, and the maintenance of a 30 cent an hour attendance bonus already in their last contract. Iron ore workers in the Midwest's Mesabi range are now realizing that the bureaucratic leaders of the United Steelworkers and its president, Lloyd McBride, are in league with the corrupt corporate executives in the steel industry. At a massive rally on Nov. 6, the workers expressed their unanimous refusal to accept a new contract that favored management, and declared their willingness to march and to continue striking. As one steelworker declared, the miners reminded him "of the 1960s, when you used to see the civil rights marches down South."

The 277,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America are also engaged in an important union contract struggle. Since 1973, about 400 miners

died on their jobs; health and safety conditions in some of the mines are worse than they were 30 years ago.

Recognizing the dangerous and unhealthy conditions of their work, the UMW is raising a list of contract demands that all working and black people should have, no matter where they work. The union is demanding an end to compulsory overtime, a greater amount of sick and personal leave time, full dental and eye care, birth control and other health benefits, as well as a wage increase plus a cost of living clause. The coal industry has rejected most of these demands as inflationary and unnecessary. The immediate prospects seem to point toward a direct confrontation between the owners and the workers.

On Oct. 10 over 15,000 employees struck at Lockheed's three plants in California. One week later they were joined by 5,000 Lockheed machinists in Marietta, Ga. Significantly, this was the first industrial strike in Georgia since the late '50s.

Throughout the country, there have been numerous strikes involving white, middle class oriented working people. Many of these whites were never on a picket line; most benefited from the prosperous economy of the '60s and voted for Richard Nixon in 1972. Now, mil-

lions of blue collar workers in every city and state are dissatisfied with phony income increases which never offset the mounting monthly increases in the cost of living. Not since the 1930s has there been such a long period of underemployment and unemployment. These white workers are angry that President Carter, who they supported last year, has not come up with a real domestic program for employment. And according to a Times-CBS poll, only 36 percent of all Americans believe that Carter can reduce unemployment to any real extent, despite his campaign promises.

What does all this mean to black people?

First, black people must understand that they are oppressed both as an ethnic group and as a distinct working class. No group of white workers will ever experience the long-term effects of racism and class exploitation. The American capitalist economy and political system, from slavery down to today, was never designed to advance the economic interests of any but a very few token "bourgeois Negroes."

Most black folks are beginning to understand the cruel realities of this. That's partially the reason why confidence in Carter among black people has dropped from 83 percent in April to under 57 per-

cent this month. Black unemployment is higher today, under a Democratic President, than it was under a Republican President 12 months ago. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have come up with a basic solution for permanent black unemployment. Only the militant political activism of blacks themselves, and a renewed commitment to aggressive struggle against economic exploitation and racism, will create jobs for black people.

Second, the rebirth of militancy within white labor provides a common ground for the economically oppressed of both races. So long as white workers think and reflect upon their social and economic condition as *white people*, however, there is no chance that a coalition could work. Yet the possibility remains that if white workers begin to challenge their own racism and backwardness, just as they are now challenging their own corrupt union leaders and their employers, that such a coalition might create the beginnings for a fundamentally different kind of America. ■

Manning Marable is chairperson of the Department of Political Science, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and an associate fellow of the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta.

Stanley Aronowitz

Recession is not as bad for business as it is for the rest of us



Business and Carter administration economists are worried about the economic picture for 1978. As the new year approaches, trends threatening double digit inflation, recession or both are on the horizon. On international markets, the dollar has dropped in price compared to leading European and Japanese currencies. The balance of trade deficit exceeded \$3 billion in October, the highest monthly deficit in American history. Even though the deficit is being blamed on higher oil imports (an obvious pitch to support the Carter energy bill and give the largest oil companies billions for oil exploration on the North American continent), increasing steel, auto and other basic commodity imports are part of the reason for unfavorable trade balance.

Although the largest corporations, the U.S. based multinationals, may be gainers rather than losers from the international economic developments, the American economy is certainly being hurt. Lay-offs in steel reflect the stagnation in the size of production in the wake of higher productivity. Fewer workers are producing as much as a larger labor force did a couple of years ago. As some basic industries cut back, and employment in the public sector fails to expand, new car sales are already dropping. According to the *Wall Street Journal* (Nov. 30) planned auto output for the closing months of 1977 was down, reversing an expected modest increase. The auto industry, which was able to weather strong foreign competition during the last year, is finally reaching the limits of its expansion. This crucial consumer product is an important bellwether of the economy. It absorbs a great deal of steel, rubber, glass, aluminum and even textiles, so the new year may bring bad news for workers in industries that supply it.

Of course, unemployment among

blacks and other minorities is reaching scandal proportions. Black workers in steel and auto are hardest hit by reduced production schedules. In addition, new jobs in the public sector have failed to materialize. And, even though *U.S. News and World Report* and the *Wall Street Journal* have featured front page stories on the issue during the past several weeks, there is little likelihood that the Carter administration will move significantly to increase the public payrolls. The Humphrey-Hawkins bill, no world beater to begin with, is in the process of being cut to ribbons by the administration and the conservatives in Congress. The youth employment measures are temporary expedients to keep the lid on until the 1978 congressional elections. Most of the jobs that are being created are the temporary, "leaf raking" variety, and low paid. They are being used to reduce the welfare rolls as much as to put a few hundred thousand unemployed on the payroll for show.

The President has made clear his opposition to "inflationary" public spending in this era of international problems. The expected reappointment of Federal Reserve Board chairman Arthur Burns was preceded by a struggle among Carter's chief economic advisers about such questions as the size of the money supply and the interest rate. Burns, who has advocated frankly recessionary policies to limit the money supply by increasing interest rates in order to hold down inflation, seems to have won out. Next year, federal spending will be constrained by these policies (except for arms). It will be harder to get a loan for a new house or, equally important, for a small business to cut its losses that may result from the need for retooling to meet the competition of the giant corporations, or to reduce prices to stay in business. "Anti-inflation" policies will spell accelerated

consolidation of capital into few hands, closing of smaller and less efficient plants and a higher official rate of joblessness.

We can expect the recession to be blamed on higher energy costs and the planned increases in the minimum wage and social security benefits. At the same time, the conservative campaign will try to focus on the need to foster energy independence in the form of nuclear, coal and oil development, moderation in federal spending for job programs and social benefits and approval of tax write-offs for new business investment. These policies, it is claimed, would create more jobs in the private sector and moderate the need for the government to step in as the employer of last resort.

In short, recession is good for some banks and major industrial corporations that believe that this is no time to encourage programs that would raise production costs in the wake of international competition. They argue that a tax cut to put more money in the hands of businesses and consumers would constitute a better economic policy because it would reduce government spending. As the recession matures, there is no doubt that new cries will be raised for wage restraint, more business mergers and slashes in welfare and other social programs. A straw in the wind is the recent rejection by congressional conferees considering the energy bill of a Senate passed measure that would lower electricity and other energy costs for the elderly. At the same time, federal jobs programs are almost entirely linked to "crisis" intervention and are not intended to increase the number of permanent jobs in the public sector, a decision that would entail increasing the mandatory budget rather than the discretionary budget. The administration has gone along with these approaches to joblessness and other economic problems and, short of

strong objections from labor, minorities, women and the liberal organizations, the policy will not likely be reversed in the near future.

Some observers (see *ITT*, "Carter in 1984," Nov. 16) have argued that Carter is in trouble with big business. Undoubtedly, many economists for large banks and industries have expressed chagrin at the inability of the administration to settle on a firm course of action directed towards aiding investment and cutting losses on international markets. Others are concerned that the administration has failed to intervene sufficiently to blunt the criticism of the labor movement and minority organizations. But these tactical differences should not obscure the basic orientation of the Carter economic program: it is a big business policy. Its major appointments in the economic sphere have been drawn from large corporations—the latest, for example, the general counsel of the federal energy administration is an attorney for some of the major polluters. Further, liberal weight at the commanding heights is weaker than at any time since Carter won the primary.

In the main, it is Carter's failure to deal with the problems in terms of business priorities without losing his mass base that constitutes the basis of most of the right-wing criticism. As for his "left" critics, it must be said that few have offered penetrating critiques of the administration's economic performance. Rather, most labor and liberal groups are still at the complaining stage because they have accepted the lesser evil theory according to which "it could be worse." ■ *Stanley Aronowitz is Professor of Comparative Culture in the Social Science School, University of California-Irvine, and author of False Promises and Food, Shelter and the American Dream.*

Robert J. Ross

Labor law reform will help labor in South

On Oct. 6, 36 Republicans joined 221 Democrats in the House of Representatives to pass HR-8410, the labor law reform bill favored by the AFL-CIO and other trade unionists 257-163. The AFL-CIO boasted that it passed with no changes that floor leader Frank Thompson Jr. (D NJ) did not "agree to in advance or otherwise finesse." The bill is now in the Senate, where no action is expected until next year.

HR-8410 would make procedural changes in the National Labor Relations Act, and in the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) that administers it. The proposed reforms are of intense concern to labor. The AFL-CIO created a "glamor" committee of well-known figures, Americans for Justice on the Job, to lend their names to its lobbying. Charlton Heston joined Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP, and Eleanor Smeal of NOW, and many others to serve with honorary chairman Sen. Hubert Humphrey. The grand old labor-liberal-minorities coalition of New Deal-Fair Deal vintage is alive and half-way through its legislative battle in Washington.

This victory, however, follows an earlier and bitter defeat for labor last summer when President Carter introduced his labor law reforms without including repeal of Section 14(b) of the NLRA—the section that gives individual states the authority to enact laws outlawing union or agency shop agreements. These laws have been passed by 20 states—11 of them in the old South. They are known as "right-to-work" laws, and are hated by labor and adored by the far right.

While most Americans (56 percent according to a poll sponsored by labor itself) favor "right-to-work" laws, hardly any (13 percent) understand what they mean. Confused by the title, most people, even in trade union families, think these laws refer to full employment or freedom of speech.

An agency shop is one in which the collective bargaining contract calls for compulsory payment of dues by a worker to a union that represents the worker's bargaining unit; a union shop contract compels a worker to join the union after he or she is hired. These arrangements are banned by "right-to-work" laws. Unions defend them as protection against free-loaders: workers who enjoy the benefits of the union contract but won't pay dues. A majority of the public supports labor's position when asked whether this free-loading is "fair," but President Carter had neither the will nor the inclination to tilt with such formidable rhetorical windmills.

From the start labor pinned its hopes for labor law reform on the President's support. When he bailed out on repeal of 14(b), labor chose the half-loaf, and supported the bill Carter proposed. It would speed certification of representation elections and action on unfair labor practice, and it would give the NLRB more power to stop unfair practices by employers. The changes would make organizing a union and getting it recognized less difficult—even in "right-to-work" states—than it now is.

Despite Presidential support, the bill could run into trouble in the Senate. With conservative Louisiana Democrat Sen.

Russell Long dominating consideration of the President's energy, welfare, and tax programs, labor could become the victim of some old-fashioned, down-home, log-rolling and vote swapping. Some help for labor's case, some new force to add to the coalition, could come from urban-based groups if labor and its allies reach out to them.

The labor reforms hold obvious benefits for poor and minority persons in our cities, especially in the service industries where they are concentrated. But there is another, more important way that labor reforms can help the economies of older cities.

Central to the distress of the central cities is their loss of jobs, especially in manufacturing. This phenomenon is national: in the '60s suburbs gained manufacturing jobs four times as fast as central cities. This process is doubly damaging in the industrial Northeast and Midwest where a regional shift of employment is devastating. The states called the Sunbelt (the Southeast and Southwest) gained almost one-half million manufacturing jobs in the '70s, while these other—snowbelt—states lost over a million jobs. (The remainder have been lost and/or exported to the Philippines, South Korea, Mexico, etc.) The contrasts between states that gained and those that lost manufacturing jobs show why reform is important.

The states that gained were predominantly "right-to-work" states low in unionization (10-15 percent) and in wages; the losing states were more unionized (about 40 percent) and higher paying.

This confirms that industrial location is greatly affected by labor costs and la-

bor docility. Employers will expand production where labor is less costly and less likely to strike or challenge management. Local taxes (or tax breaks) and local regulation (e.g., on air or water pollution) are not as decisive. As a Michelin executive told *Fortune* magazine, when choosing to locate in South Carolina, "We would never establish a plant where tax exemptions would be necessary to make operations profitable."

The labor law reforms would make it easier to organize and keep unions in the South. The J.P. Stevens case is a good example: labor people think they could beat Stevens, which employs most of its workers in the South, if they had the protections they are now fighting for.

Over time, this would reduce the gap in wages and working conditions and unionization between the older and newer industrial areas. As labor caught up in the South, the decline of the North would slow down.

As jobs ceased their outward flow towards the Sunbelt the effectiveness of business job blackmail to defeat new or existing social service programs would be blunted; so would their attacks on environmental regulation and equitable taxation. Southern workers would also be better able to defend themselves: their lower wages would rise and regional inequality would decline. This would be a victory for northern city dwellers as well.

In fact, the situation is this: the Sunbelt labor organizer may be the best ally of the Snowbelt community organizer. The labor law reform will aid them both.

Bob Ross teaches sociology at Clark University.

More letters

Continued from page 15.

cott appears to be having some success, but it could be months before Coors capitulates.

It is not surprising that the strikers' fight has been difficult. Not only are they taking on the fifth-largest beer seller in America, but they are confronting Joe Coors. Joe is not merely a conservative businessman. He finances and control numerous rightwing foundations, legal groups and research centers in hopes that he can force the country into a mythological 19th century political mold. While he talks of constitutional rights and the glory of the early Republic, Coors' authoritarian views are obvious to anyone who reads the contractual restrictions he imposes on employees. In Joe's opinion, property rights supersede human rights.

This attitude was made clear on July 7. That evening, strikers and their supporters went to a rally near the property of Coors' lawyer, Leo Bradley. In spite of the peaceful nature of all previous such rallies, that night the Golden police were on hand in full riot gear. Before the night was over, four people—a striker and three strike supporters—had been arrested on charges of "harassment," "trespassing" and "resisting arrest." The police were not gentle. Kathy Kahn, a folksinger/activist who weighs 85 pounds and was walking on a crutch, was clubbed into unconscious-

ness and stomped by police and Coors' security guards. The others arrested were: Andrea Gabriel, an activist who has written an eyewitness account of her experiences during the anti-Allende coup in Chile; Reed Andersen, a brewery worker who has traveled thousands of miles spreading the word of the boycott and strike; Phil Allen, a member of the Radical Information Project, a movement bookstore in Denver.

Their trial begins Tuesday, Nov. 15 in Jefferson County Court. If convicted they could go to jail for 3-18 months.

Many of us associated with the strike and with these four individuals strongly believe the arrests were the result of a conscious decision made before the July 7 rally. Coors desperately wants to eliminate "agitators" who have been effective in catalyzing support for the strike and boycott. I hesitate to say these arrests were part of a Coors-inspired "conspiracy," but that is precisely what appears to be the case.

The "Golden Four" badly need your help. Their most immediate concern is raising enough money to pay for their legal costs, which may go as high as \$1,500 even without an appeal. Please help defend them with a contribution of \$5 or \$10. And please pass this letter on to a friend. Make checks payable to: Legal Fund for the Golden Four, c/o Timothy Lange, 1015 Cook St., Denver, Colo. 80206. Thanks.

—Timothy Lange
Denver, Colo.

Moving?

Be sure to send us your new address with your old address label. And we'll make sure your subscription to *In These Times* is uninterrupted.

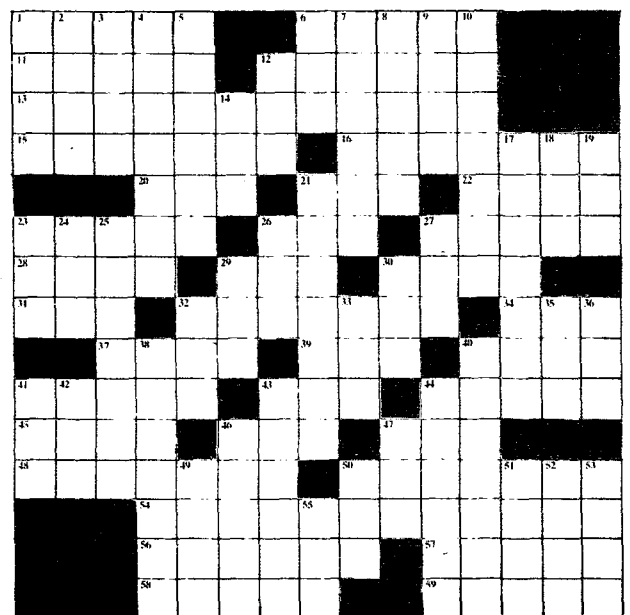
IN THESE TIMES
1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60622

Sixty Years

By David Memelstein

Across:

- 1 San Juan is Puerto _____ capital
- 6 "...either _____ Ray." (one of two comedians)
- 11 Pass into law
- 12 "Goodies" for promoting
- 13 4 DOWN ESTABLISHED _____ OF THE PROLETARIAT (or so it was said!)
- 15 Police informer
- 16 RED ARMY ORGANIZER
- 20 Storage place
- 21 Precedes icicle or pertine
- 22 Pertaining to the womb: prefix
- 23 Author of *A Doll's House*
- 26 RUSSIAN VILLAGE COMMUNE
- 27 Wheat husks
- 28 German industrial region
- 29 After fa
- 30 Virginia _____
- 31 Literary monogram
- 32 ONE OF TRIUMVIRATE WHICH SUCCEEDED LENIN
- 34 Suffix for words of French origin
- 37 Haughty
- 39 _____ in the bud
- 40 Follows DFHJ
- 41 Fell accidentally: Arch
- 43 Original or mortal
- 44 1863 events, relating to the draft
- 45 Mammals related to alpine rabbits
- 46 Interdict
- 47 Bella's emblem
- 48 "He told the operator _____ tone sounded strange."
- 49 Exegetic guide to *Old Testament*
- 54 REAL NAME OF 5 DOWN
- 56 Pertaining to penitence period
- 57 Locale of Krupp steel works
- 58 Curves
- 59 Form of trapshooting



Down:

- 1 THE GOOD GUYS OPPOSING THE WHITES
- 2 Pertaining to the beginning: Abbr.
- 3 Haiti bandit
- 4 "_____ REVOLUTION"
- 5 ONCE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR NATIONALITIES, LATER DENOUNCED IN 20TH PARTY CONGRESS
- 6 Harber or Kokba
- 7 Cracker or fork
- 8 Niels and his family
- 9 Medley or potpourri
- 10 Ecstasy
- 14 Atomic number is 50
- 17 FORMER NAME OF DONETSK, AFTER 5 DOWN
- 18 Knowledge or understanding
- 19 Relative of wks.
- 21 LEADER OF 4 DOWN
- 23 Alternative to BMT or IND
- 24 Inge's _____ Stop
- 25 ENDING FOR MEN OR BOL
- 26 Pop's companion
- 27 Physics abbreviation
- 29 Diego or Antonio
- 30 Corded fabric
- 32 Tool container
- 33 Diarist Anais
- 35 Balto., N.Y., or Bos.
- 36 Hesitations
- 38 What one sometimes lacks when up a creek
- 40 TREATY OF BREST-_____ NEGOTIATED BY 16 ACROSS
- 41 Geometric solid: Abbr.
- 42 Caesar's count of our deck of cards
- 43 Greet
- 44 Skin eruptions
- 46 German roads
- 47 Possess
- 49 Suffix for colon and patron
- 50 Isle of _____
- 51 Get up
- 52 Opposite of aweather
- 53 Clue
- 55 S. Amer. Indian group

CHAUTAUQUA

Something old, something new

The following is the text of *ITT* editor James Weinstein's First Anniversary Chautauqua speech.

In *These Times*' first anniversary Chautauqua is in some respects an attempt to revive a tradition of public debate and education that was popular in this country from the 1830s to the 1920s, but that died out largely as a result of the development of radio. In those 90 years every good sized city or town had its Chautauqua hall, which hosted speakers of many views on a wide range of political, social and even scientific subjects. The Chautauqua was a forum for new ideas, a place where major social issues were debated and where new scientific developments were explained. It played a major role in creating an informed and politically active citizenry.

The late period of the Chautauquas, the early 1900s, was also the time when a deeply rooted and widespread movement for socialism existed in the U.S., and when the question of socialism in American life was very much in the mainstream of political discussion and debate. We also would like to help revive that tradition.

Some may think that we hope or intend to recreate the specific organizational forms or politics of the socialist movement of pre-World War I days. But that is no more our purpose than it is to reestablish the network of Chautauqua that existed more than half a century ago. It is the essence of the movement, not the particular form or politics, that we want to revive. That essence was popular involvement in the working out of socialist principles and activity within the tradition of our American political culture.

The decline.

The tradition that saw socialism as the property of the American people, especially of the working class as a whole, died out, with the active assistance of the socialist left itself, in the mid-1920s. By the late 1930s, socialism itself had disappeared from American public life, even though socialist organizations and parties continued to exist, and one, the Communist party USA, enjoyed relative prosperity in the Depression decade. The irony was that the success of the Communist party only helped to accelerate the disappearance of public discussion and debate of socialism and socialist principles, and, eventually the disappearance of the possibility of socialism itself as an alternative to corporate capitalism.

Some see the 1930s as a Red Decade in which industrial unions were organized on a mass scale for the first time and in which the Communist party itself became a substantial organization, with extensive influence in the trade union movement and other areas of American life. Others see the same years as a time of great social and political conservatism. It seems to me that there is truth in both views, but that one thing is incontrovertible: whatever else happened in the 1930s it was the period in which socialism finally disappeared as a question that could be discussed outside the ranks of various organized socialist parties and their close followers.

Finally disappeared, that is, until this decade. In the 1970s we are entering a new period in American political history, one that has in it the potential for the reemergence of a genuinely popular, even a majority movement for socialism in the U.S. And one that of necessity will entail the remaking of the socialist left itself, the scrapping not only of the forms of party organization that are the legacy of 1919, but also the conception of the process of socialist transformation modeled on the Bolshevik experience that has become the underlying, often unconsci-

ous theory of virtually every socialist organization now in existence.

ITT's perspective.

Those of you who read the prepublication *Proposal for a Socialist Newspaper*, or who regularly read *ITT* editorials, know that the newspaper was created in the belief that we face a unique challenge and a unique opportunity.

The opportunity consists in the fact, or what we take to be a fact, that the crisis of corporate capitalism in the U.S. is deep and pervasive enough to have made millions of Americans lose faith in the business system as we know it. More Americans than at any time in our history see the corporations as having interests and programs contrary to the general good, and even as a major source, if not the only source, of our current social problems.

This is a vast potential constituency for socialism, and, by and large, one that cannot be won simply through struggles around particular reforms. People usually do come into social and political action on the basis of particular issues, but we believe that they will not any longer believe that the problems they face can be solved by piecemeal reform, but only as part of a process of basic changes in the social order.

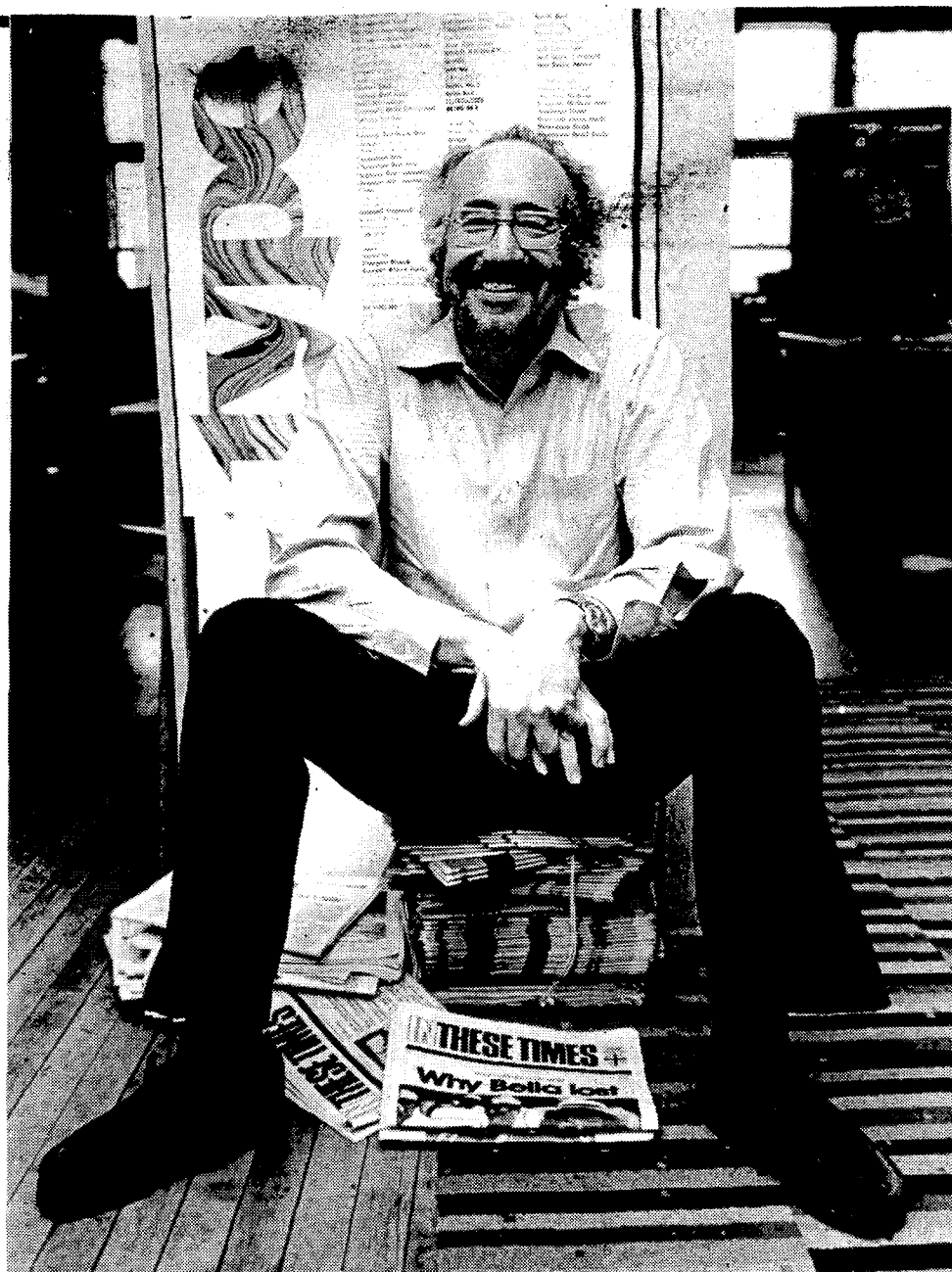
Of course, most people are not yet socialists, but they are very much open to socialist principles and programs. And that is the challenge. Because while they are open to socialism the socialist left as it is now constituted, both organizationally and ideologically, is as self-contained and insulated from the emerging popular consciousness and forms of organization as it has ever been in this century.

The two stage theory.

Our view of the present situation and of the process of development for a popular movement for socialism in the U.S. requires the abandonment of the central political/ideological premise of the post-1919 left: the two stage theory of revolutionary development. That theory posits a working class that is not ready for socialist principles and programs, and that can be mobilized and educated only by agitation and organization that is limited to immediate issues. In this view, any attempt to raise the question of socialism, even in the context of movements around a particular issue, is sectarian. Socialism is the property not of the working class, which is either not ready or too corrupt to understand it, but of the elect—the party and its close followers. At some distant and ever-receding time in the future, according to this theory, a crisis of such dimensions will occur that then socialism can somehow be introduced as the solution. The working class will then follow its "vanguard" to the promised land.

This, of course, was not the politics of the socialist movement in the West before the Russian Revolution. Pre-1919 socialists, in every liberal capitalist country in Europe and the U.S., assumed that all workers could understand the necessity for socialism. And, because the working class was a major part of the population, that socialism could be the basis of a popular politics.

But in Russia, which was still an overwhelmingly agrarian and pre-industrial society, the working class made up only a tiny portion of the population, and the society had few bourgeois democratic rights and no liberal democratic tradition. The revolutionary issue in Russia was not socialism, but bourgeois democratic revolution; then, under their auspices, a social-



James Weinstein at work.

Kathy Richland

ist revolution. Their success, and their subsequent forty-year domination of the world socialist movement imposed that theory, appropriate for pre-industrial societies, on the American left.

A different reality.

But our reality is as different from czarist Russia as two societies can be. The American working class is the overwhelming majority of the American population. It is as highly educated and articulate, as diversely skilled as any in the world. Even without the help of a socialist party it is already honeycombed with anti-corporate and proto-socialist consciousness.

The diversity that characterizes the American working class (and the working classes of all the more advanced industrial nations) is consistent with the best in the American political tradition of federalism. The problem, particularly right now, is how to create, or to help create a unity of purpose and principle within a working class that has a wide range of particular interests, many of which will necessarily remain in conflict with other sectors of the class so long as corporate capitalism prevails, and some of which will carry over into socialism.

In our view the existing reality requires above all else the discussion, clarification and dissemination of socialist principles—as publicly and as widely as possible—and the development of a program of social goals that we can begin to implement through organization and legislation now. In short, socialism must become an integral part of all the various existing social movements for reform, just as socialists must be a part of all the existing

social and political movements in which working people are active.

If the discussion, clarification and dissemination of socialist principles and of a program of social goals is essential in beginning to create unity within the working class, then a popular socialist newspaper is indispensable. Indeed, if a serious movement on the left is to develop, there is a need for a diversity of popular socialist publications—just as there was at the height of the old Socialist party in the years just before World War I, when some 323 socialist daily, weekly and monthly publications reached two to three million regular readers.

In These Times was intended to be a modest, but important beginning toward the goal of a full-scale socialist press. Our goal is to reach a readership of over 100,000 as quickly as possible. In our first year we have taken only the first, but probably the most difficult steps. We have achieved a circulation of over 11,000—9,000 subscribers and 2,000 direct sales—which is still very small. But our readers are widely distributed among social and political activists in virtually every movement in which working people are active. This meeting today is both a celebration of that achievement, an indication of the range of our concerns and interests and an attempt to take us into our second year with added momentum and support. We hope that you will participate actively and critically in today's proceedings and come out of this Chautauqua determined to help us double or triple our circulation and improve the quality of our paper in 1978.

EEOC changes

Continued from page 3.

two to clear up the backlog and go easy on the systemic focus.

If serious systemic work is initiated, the EEOC can also expect to get dragged into court more often by business.

Because of the internal reorganization of the EEOC, the Carter administration is apparently amenable to consolidating much of the government's civil rights machinery under its auspices. Carter is considering a major reorganization package, formulated by a special OMB task force, that would phase in EEOC control over the Equal Pay Act, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, the

Age Discrimination Act and other laws during the next two years. The package, which can be altered by Carter, can also be vetoed by either house of Congress.

The reshuffling of the EEOC is thus a tentative step towards making civil rights legislation a concrete reality for millions of women and minority workers. "If we don't have to always fight just to have the minimum laws enforced," concludes Blunt, "we can then look at expanding those laws and moving into other areas like our fair employment program and equal pay for equal worth, an expanded definition of equal pay. It opens up space to begin doing other things."

LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPORTS

Sex roles hinder coed sports

By Anne Gibbons

Children have a sense of their physical potential at a very early age; they delight in moving, whether it be running, climbing, jumping, rolling or being upside-down. But as they grow older, this natural love of movement is socialized into ways of being physical that are clearly sex-defined.

Four and five year old boys, usually dressed comfortably in t-shirts and dungarees, know how to swing a baseball bat, run bases, throw a ball forcefully. Girls of this age rarely do the same.

I once listened to six year old girls discussing swimming class. They discussed their need to diet and look presentable, and whether to wear a tank suit or a bikini. Some were actually reluctant to get their suits wet. No comparable discussion would be held by boys.

Both boys and girls love warm-up exercises to music. They enjoy moving freely in a situation where they can be conscious of only what their own bodies are doing and feeling. But when this same activity is called "dance"—which it certainly is a form of—it becomes an embarrassing experience for the large majority of boys—who aren't supposed to like "dance." They complain, act silly and participate reluctantly.

Generally, boys are more capable than girls in team sports because they are more comfortable with being aggressive and competitive. Such behavior has been supported and reinforced for them. They've learned there is a value in organizing a game, sticking to arbitrary rules and playing continuously for long periods of time. Personal disputes and slight injuries rarely interrupt the flow of a game

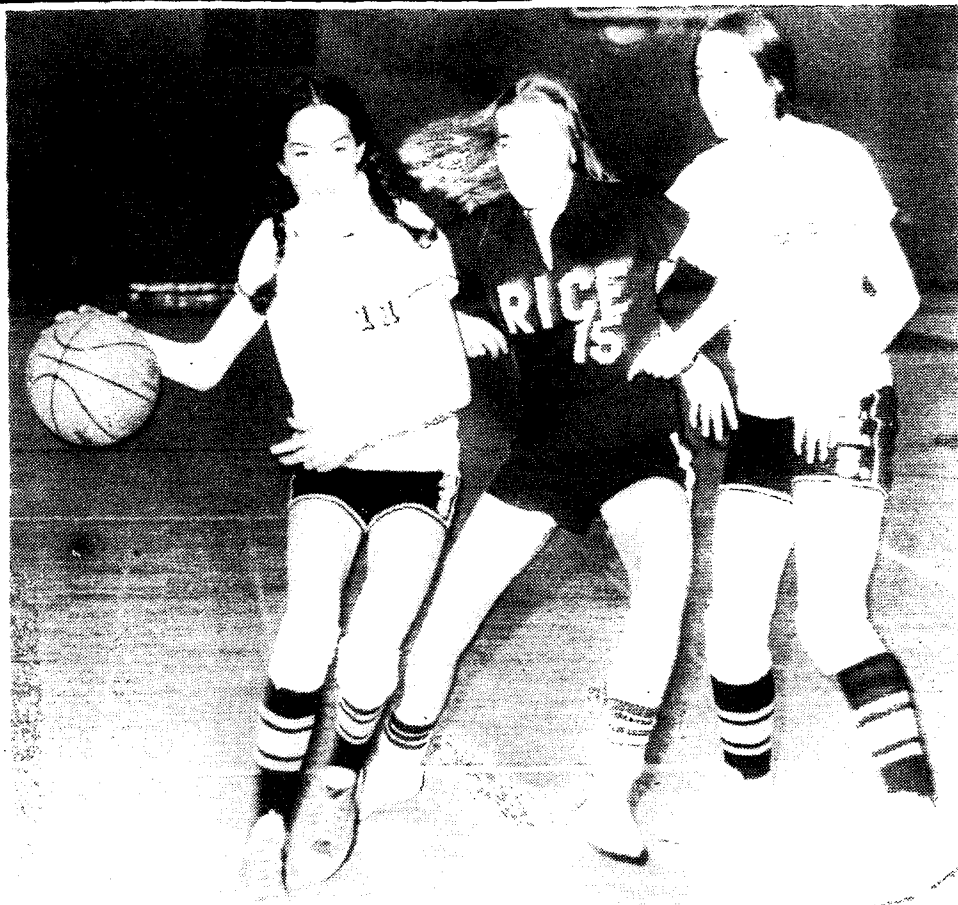
they're involved in.

This kind of "know-how" about sports and seriousness about playing does not come naturally to most girls. Given an opportunity to organize any small game, they often create something that resembles no particular sport. It might be interesting, but is not likely to be physically challenging.

Girls generally lack a sense of their own power. They don't realize they can work harder, play more aggressively, jump higher. Enduring pain for the sake of organized physical effort isn't necessarily important to them. They may have a healthier attitude toward competition than some of the boys who are obsessed with winning at all costs, but, unfortunately, this can be at the expense of playing seriously. Girls are more likely than boys to say "after all, it's only a game."

These different ways of perceiving athletic activity have nothing to do with physical differences, which are slight before puberty. They aren't based on body type, natural ability or physical strength, which vary more among people of the same sex than they do between the sexes. Social pressures push children into sex roles and sex-defined attitudes towards physical activity.

As more opportunities for girls open up in team sports, and as a wider range of sports such as yoga, martial arts, running and gymnastics become popular, new possibilities may be opening up for boys and girls. Both could learn a variety of movement skills and activities. As boys and girls practice and play together, it will become obvious that individual physical differences, personal preferences and access to facilities far out-



Jane Mennick

Girls generally lack a sense of their own power and don't realize they can work harder, play more aggressively, jump higher. Only through doing can these lessons be learned.

weigh sexual differences in determining how well someone plays a particular sport.

But to enable boys and girls to explore their full physical potential, conscious efforts have to be made to counteract influences that define "male" and "female" roles. Such influences begin at very early ages.

The way children are dressed, handled and spoken to, the kind of toys they receive (dolls for girls, bats and balls for boys), the way they are taught to express feelings ("a big boy doesn't cry when he's hurt"), as well as the actual physical training they receive, all shape their attitudes toward sport and play.

Those interested in non-sexist approaches to sport must insist that schools and communities provide equal opportunities for boys and girls in all athletic programs.

And, most importantly, parents, family and friends must encourage both boys and girls to approach physical activity with the same joy, enthusiasm and abandon.

A non-sexist home environment will not solve the problem—not so long as the media and other social pressures push sex roles and sex-differentiated sports—but it can sow the seeds for a more hopeful future.

The natural joy children experience in moving can be a positive force in their lives if it isn't shifted by social pressures for girls to be fragile and graceful and boys to be athletically competitive regardless of physical potential and personal preference.

Anne Gibbons teaches physical education in an elementary school in New York City.

SELF DEFENSE

Personal intervention can make a difference

BY JOAN LESTER

ON THURSDAY, NOV. 10, I WAS WALKING BY the subway station at Grand Army Plaza in Brooklyn, N.Y., at 10 p.m. I saw a man and a woman coming out of the subway; the woman looked as if she was struggling against the man, who had his arm around her. I asked, "Is everything all right?" He answered, "This is my woman."

I was uneasy. They were going in the direction opposite from mine, so I turned around and followed them. The man kept looking back at me.

After a third of a block, I said to the woman, "Are you OK?" She grimaced and shook her head no. The man was holding her tightly. He looked at me and said, "If you say anything, I'll kill you."

I saw three men approaching about half a block away or a little closer. I yelled, "This woman needs help. Help this woman."

They began to run toward us, the attacker released the woman who ran over in my direction, and suddenly one of the running men pulled out a gun, aimed it at the attacker and said, "I'm a policeman." A second man pulled out a walkie-talkie, they had the attacker against a wall, and in a minute or two one or more police cars were on the scene, and the attacker was hustled into a police car.

Meanwhile the woman had run to me, shaking and sobbing, saying, "Thank you, thank you." I held her and I said (which I find one of the most amazing parts of the whole event, in retrospect), "You are my sister."

In a few minutes the plainclothesmen came over and took her name, of which I have no memory, her age (27), and her address (somewhere in the Village). Before they took her with them I asked them to show us their ID to prove they really were cops, and asked for a woman counselor for her.

She said that she had come off the subway and the man had grabbed her from behind. He had a knife and had cut her ear and was forcing her to go with him. (Where? We were one block from Pros-

pect Park, so perhaps that was where he was going.) The first thing the police said when they came over to us was, "We are pretty sure this is the guy who did one hundred rapes in Brooklyn."

Among the many amazing things that occurred during that 20 or 25 minute episode was the fact that the cops spoke not one word directly to me. They didn't thank me for intervening, they didn't take my name as a witness, they did not acknowledge me, although I had my arm around the woman as they were asking her to tell what had happened, but they did respond by showing their police badges when I asked them to.

It was suddenly over when they took her away to their car, and I was left alone on the street, my heart pounding violently.

I am writing about this for several reasons. First, people should know about a case where intervention *did* work. The woman was probably saved from rape, other physical injury or murder. I was not hurt, and the attacker was captured.

Although it was incredible luck that two plainclothesmen were walking by at the exact instant that I yelled, I think the attacker was preparing to run anyway, as soon as I yelled. He seemed to release the woman as soon as I yelled, and he did not move toward me. Also, the third man who was approaching told me that as soon as he heard me yelling he prepared to act by pointing his umbrella so the metal tip was directly out.

The attacker might not have been

caught if the plainclothesmen weren't there, but probably the woman would have been released, and I would not have been hurt. I would act the same way again in a similar situation, although I had moments of terror thinking about the experience in the days since it happened.

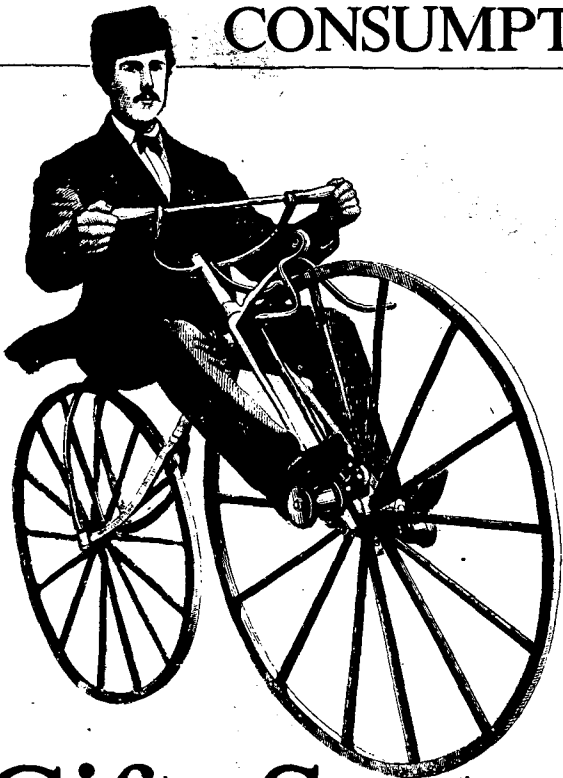
Second, the woman involved helped to save herself by struggling continuously against her attacker. Her struggling gave me the clue as to what was going on. Resistance was effective.

Third, women should know what happened since it occurred at a place and time that many would consider relatively 'safe': a busy, well-lit subway station and intersection at 10 p.m.

Fourth, although the police were technically efficient (i.e., they accomplished their task of responding quickly and well and capturing someone who was in the act of a violent crime), they were completely unsympathetic and unresponsive to the emotion of the woman involved. She was crying and shaking as they asked her to relate the events that had just taken place, and to give her personal data.

They did not utter one "personal" word to her, such as "I know you must be feeling..." They were completely impersonal. And they did not acknowledge the fact that a citizen had jeopardized herself to intervene in the crime, nor did they know that a crime had been committed against me (a direct threat on my life), since they didn't ask me anything.

CONSUMPTION



Gifts Santa Won't bring

By Art Klein

A lot of Christmas gifts that you've long known and loved won't be coming down the chimney this year.

It's not that the presents or Santa won't fit. But rather that today's new consumer-goods technology has made many Christmas gifts obsolete.

All the goodies below, for example, used to make popular Christmas gifts. This year, however, they'll be scarcer than hen's teeth, which themselves probably used to be favorite stocking stuffers.

AM radio. Remember the plain old AM radio? It used to make a wonderful little gift. Try buying one today. Without extras like FM, tape deck, recorder or solar-energy converter. And without the simulated look of a cheeseburger, baseball, yo-yo or manhole cover.

Black extension telephone. A nice gift for the oldest child who spends waking hours with a phone (yours) against an ear (not yours). If you ask for a black extension telephone, however, your telephone representative will make your used-car dealer seem as low-key as a Girl Scout selling mint cookies.

Yes, the black telephone exists. The only question when you have one installed is what to do with the sign suspended high on the telephone wire in front of your residence: "This home contains a plain, black extension telephone."

Sneakers. Enter a shoe store. "Hi, I need a pair of low-cut boys' sneaks, size 7." That approach will get you a funny look, but no sneakers.

Sneakers, you see, now come in hundreds of sizes, shapes, purposes and metaphysical qualities. Moral: If you can't hold up your end of a cocktail conversation about sneaker dynamics, don't bother to buy them. Ask for shorts instead.

Shorts. Shorts? They're what you and I used to wear when the weather got warm. No more. Now we get into pre-washed jean cutoffs, Olympic-style jogging shorts, British army walkers, leisure-suit shorts, gym shorts, tennis shorts, or short shorts. Plain shorts? Don't ask. Santa's job is hard enough.

Toothbrush. Hardly an exciting gift, but a practical little throw-in when someone's toothbrush bristles start resembling a terrified mop. Problem. Do you get one with floss in its handle? Toothpaste in its stem? (It exists...really.) What about a rubber tip? Would it be energy-wasteful to get an electric toothbrush? With a massage attachment? If so, what would be the effect on oral hygiene during a prolonged blackout?

Towel. Who ever dreamed that the towel would someday reflect one's sensibilities, proclaim one's knowledge of the fine arts and become as desirable an investment as pork knees? Today's towel has reached these heights—or depths.

The once lowly towel now features reproductions of great paintings, not-so-great advertisements and signatures of beautiful-people designers. Interested

merely in buying a nice set of absorbent towels as a gift? Buy paper towels instead; they're highly designed, too, but at least you can throw them out with a clear conscience.

Typewriter. They used to build a typewriter designed to outlive people who ate yogurt and bark. This kind of typewriter never broke down; at worse it developed a wheeze every decade from excess eraser sludge. Unfortunately, because of its herculean qualities, the old-fashioned typewriter has been declared unAmerican and generally unavailable.

Cuddly little doll. If you ask for and are shown a cuddly little doll, brace yourself for encountering devious bait-and-switch tactics. The last time I asked, I was shown a life-sized six-million-dollar doll that could leap cribs in single bounds. The whole world of dolls has changed it seems. Raggedy Ann recently split from Raggedy Andy and joined the singles scene. And the new Barbie Doll develops a permanent pout unless given a new wardrobe and vacation every month.

Erector set. For reasons unknown to sociologists, every family once owned an erector set. Today, however, if you want badly enough to give your child an erector set, and thus a normal childhood, you will have to do considerable searching, and at that, settle for the new fangled kind.

If this happens, note the following precautions: Make sure the ceiling in your child's room is relatively high—high enough, say, for a small apartment house. Also be careful at night of low-hanging bridges between the living room and kitchen.

Adjusted plant. An adjusted plant is one that exists on water when you think of it and sunshine when there is some—and nothing more. At last count, there were only three of these kinds of plants left in the U.S. The others have mutated to a point that if the vibes from you are bad, your plants hold their breath and turn brown. If you still want to give a plant for Christmas, it's advisable to accompany the plant with a gift certificate for a year's worth of house calls by a plant doctor.

One-speed bicycle. If you still have one, save it. It's already a collector's item. If you can find one to buy for someone, tell them to be prepared for questions like the following: Are the gears under your seat? Is that a moped without a motor? Is your Model-T in for repairs?

Unilluminated book. This is a book that sheds no light at all on how to build a terrace, how to enrich your life or how to manipulate others into building terraces or enriching their lives. Novels, poetry and explorations of contemporary issues fall into this category. Give them at your own risk to people who don't like to be told how to do anything.

Art Klein is a free-lance writer in New York.

Business and capitalism

Continued from page 24.

ing research into what was—and more importantly, what was not—being taught at regular business schools, as well as the curricula of schools for cooperatives. He gathered the few case studies that were available that described the experience of specific alternative institutions. He talked with professors, activists and economists. And out of all this work emerged the program for the New School of Democratic Management.

This painstaking planning paid off; the New School's first session was an almost unqualified success. "30 percent of our money went into scholarships," Olsen says. "If everyone had paid full tuition, we would have broken even, or maybe even cleared a little. We figure we should be carrying our own weight financially in three years, like any other small business."

Beyond the numbers, though, the feedback from students generally indicated that they felt they had got what they came for. Some students wanted more input, and especially more case materials about actual alternative businesses, to work with next time. A meeting of women students circulated a critique of the program that called for more women faculty, care to avoid terms like "businessman," child care for students and recruitment of nonwhite women students. But even these criticisms were set in the context of overwhelming support for the school and its courses.

Olsen and his colleagues are looking ahead to next year's curriculum, and to a series of regional workshops they are planning to hold in the meantime in various places around the nation. In the workshops Olsen expects to deliver a concentrated version of the summer curriculum to people who don't have the time or resources to undertake the full two-week course.

Larger vision.

But Olsen's vision for the New School of Democratic Management doesn't end with helping food coops and collective record stores stay alive and healthy. "What we're after is to have a school of management, not a school just for alternative enterprises," he declares.

"By that I mean that even if the alternative businesses in this country survived and grew a thousand times larger than they now are, they'd still be only a tiny segment of the total economic structure. So we want to develop ways of teaching the skills needed to go in and help democratize the central institutions of our society—unions, corporations, public agencies. Our ambition, really, is to ultimately connect alternative enterprises with some of the good things that are happening in regular corporations. We don't want to see a repeat of what happened ten years ago when the people in alternative enterprises tried to slam the door on the rest of the world."

Olsen admits that this strategy is a long-range one, but insists that it is more than a

fantasy. "The worker participation plans that have been tried in various straight businesses have shown that when you give people control over what they are doing they will be more productive and cooperative, and I expect to see such experiments really take off in big corporations. We hope to be able to influence such experiments, and help them be even stronger and more democratic in their impact."

Closer at hand, though, the work of developing the materials needed to make the small-scale businesses that were represented at the New School's July sessions viable is still just getting underway.

Even when a collective has overcome its destructive anti-businesslike attitudes and is willing to face up to the issues of specialization, planning, growth and burnouts, such problems don't just disappear. If anything, they can then be seen in their full significance, which can be enormous.

I asked Olsen how an alternative enterprise could judge when it was getting too big, or how it could maintain an equalitarian atmosphere while developing necessary specialization, or how it was to be restrained from choosing democratically to do something antisocial but profitable?

Olsen had some informed speculations about these items, but admitted that in truth the answers were still waiting to be thought and tried out. "In the meantime," he added, "I think we all have to learn to live with contradictions without trashing ourselves or each other the way we often have. Even here at the school, we realize we're not non-racist or non-sexist, and not a lot of other things, even to meet our own standards. So as we work at all of this, we need to develop support mechanisms that help us take criticism without being crushed by it. This is a theme that has run through lots of our courses, and it is a key to the problem of burning out. Most alternative enterprises start out being under-capitalized, and this means that everybody is going to be stretched thin. That makes for an atmosphere of tension, and if you add heavy ideological lines to the mix, it's almost sure to produce scapegoating, factions, and all the stuff that makes for burnouts and the death of good projects."

"This is the kind of problem the New School for Democratic Management is going to be grappling with. And it's different direction from what you'll find at any regular business schools. They train managers to direct their energy and loyalties upward, to serve the interests of those who run the corporations. We want to train managers whose loyalties and energy are directed down, serving the interests of the workers and consumers that their businesses are supposed to be working for."

The New School for Democratic Management is located at 256 Sutter St., San Francisco, California 94108, phone (415) 434-1705.

Chuck Fager is a free-lance writer now in Washington, D.C.



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ART <> ENTERTAINMENT

Records



THE COON ELDER BAND
The Coon Elder Band with
Brenda Patterson
(Mercury)

Even though I'm biased against neocountry music I find myself growing to like this album. It is a winning cross of Motown and Mother Earth.

Brenda Patterson's voice, an American counterpart of that of Scottish soulstress Maggie Bell, is appealing—husky, sensual, gritty and in tune. Coon Elder, who handles the dominant country side of this album, sings in an unobtrusive high tenor that carries conviction.

The ducts are what make the record: the call-and-response pattern of "Basic Lady," an Allen Toussaint song highlighted by a country fiddle line; a dreamy, light version of the Motown ballad, "What Does It Take [To Win Your Love]."

This group has a peculiar insight into America, a modest but true one.

You can't get good groceries unless you cook 'em up at home. Everything is plastic, everybody's stoned.

Patterson sings on Jerry Ward's "Train Gone Forever," a cameo equal to Steve Goodman's "City of New Orleans."

You can tell Patterson believes in the compassion that underlines the sad cynicism of those words. Such true emotion is what makes the album worthwhile.

**ROBERT GORDON WITH
LINK WRAY**
(Private Stock)

A classic rock record, this mixes the old and the new, revitalizing one of the original rock styles—rockabilly. The production—heavy on the treble, with a lot of echo—brings to mind the tremendous energy of early Sun singles of Elvis, Eddie Cochran, Carl Perkins and Gene Vincent, which in the mid-'50s transformed rock-'n-roll.

It's great to hear Link Wray again. Wray, of "Rumble" fame, was a psychedelic rock guitarist long before Hendrix, and is not only still alive; he's kicking. Gordon

has a terrific voice, ranging from his nasty low tenor on Cochran's timeless "Summertime Blues" to the throb of "Sweet Surrender," where he makes his voice crack—and it's not a gimmick.

I'd love to hear the original of "Flyin' Saucers Rock & Roll," and incredibly zany (*First thing I see when it started to land/ Cat jumped out and started a band*) screamer that's been a legend for years. Gordon sings it the way Elvis did "Jailhouse Rock"—with pinched intensity. Wray and the band, which includes Rolling-Thunder-Revue alumni Rob Stoner (bass) and Howie Wyeth (drums), wail.

Although the style is consistently earliest rock, the record is rich and varied. Pick up on the strength with which Gordon sings Wray's country weeper, "It's in the Bottle," under Wray's beautiful acoustic obligato. The song is corny as hell, but it works because Gordon and his sidekicks seem to have lived it.

In the next tune Gordon growls "Woman, You're My Woman," and his voice is both troublesome and attractive. This song (also by Wray), features the best wah-wah guitar I've heard in years.

With his pompadour, brooding, thin look and versatile voice, Gordon's the best high school hood to hit the scene in years.

—Carlo Wolff
Carlo Wolff reviews records regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

FANCY PICKIN' AND PLAIN SINGING
John Burke and the Old Hat Band
(Kicking Mule Records)

Banjo and fiddle player John Burke is a bit of a legend to old-timey and folk music fans. His latest albums on Kicking Mule, a small label out of Berkeley, Calif., should be of interest to music lovers of all persuasions.

Burke is an east-coaster who started the banjo at the age of 15. He was an active part of the New York folk community of the '60s, working with such well known

musicians as Jerry Jeff Walker and David Bromberg. In 1968, he brought together the styles of two traditional folk instruments in a book called *Old Time Fiddle Tunes for the Banjo* (Oak Publications). In 1969, he journeyed west to Seattle and joined the Dr. Snootful's Wonder Cure Medicine Show, a traveling group of musical entertainers. At this time he played only fiddle, but after five years of show business, he reclaimed his rightful place among the pickers of the five-string banjo.

Fancy Pickin' and Plain Singing includes a variety of solo acoustic, fully backed-up Country and Western and old-timey pieces. Accompanied by the Old Hat Band (which is two-thirds women, a rare combination in country music), Burke does an excellent job of stuffing catchy puns and punch lines into the two C&W cuts on the album. "I'm a Lover, Not a Fighter" is a first person account of a loving husband who can't keep up with his new bride's tendency to use him as a punching bag.

I'll be looking for some action When they let me out of traction.

In his old-timey cuts, Burke's simple, no-frills voice hands you the lyrics like a warm blueberry muffin on a cold country morning. His delivery is easy to take, without crooning, bellowing, sobbing, or echoing. He comes across well in tunes like "Things That Used To Be," which shows the familiar theme of an old man and his memories through the eyes of a little boy.

Burke is best on his instrumentals, which is what the album's supposed to be about anyway. His own version of "Home, Sweet Home" starts out with a simple (but not easy) two-string harmony verse that lets you lean back into your chair. Then he hits you with one of those unbelievably fancy banjo variations that leave you marveling at the flexibility of the human hand.

The whole album is what you might call comfortable. While many country and bluegrass musicians are producing slicked-up, heavily produced, Nashville-sounding discs with banjo pickers who play like they're in a race, John Burke sits by the side of the road doing what he wants and a damn good job of it. Although the fiddle squeaks a bit too much for my taste, the album has an air of a pick-up workshop at a small town folk festival, or the basement jam session at the local folk club—comfortable, down home, easy to listen to, without a lot of the blatantly sexist lyrics that fill so much of the folk and country scene—in short, enjoyable.

Fancy Pickin' and Plain Singing is available by mail from Kicking Mule Records, P.O. Box 3233, Berkeley, Calif. 94703, as is a banjo tab book of the tunes on the album that'll show admiring musicians how Burke does it all.

—Ed Schoenfeld
Ed Schoenfeld is a folk performer, songbook editor, radio producer, and a member of the New American Movement.

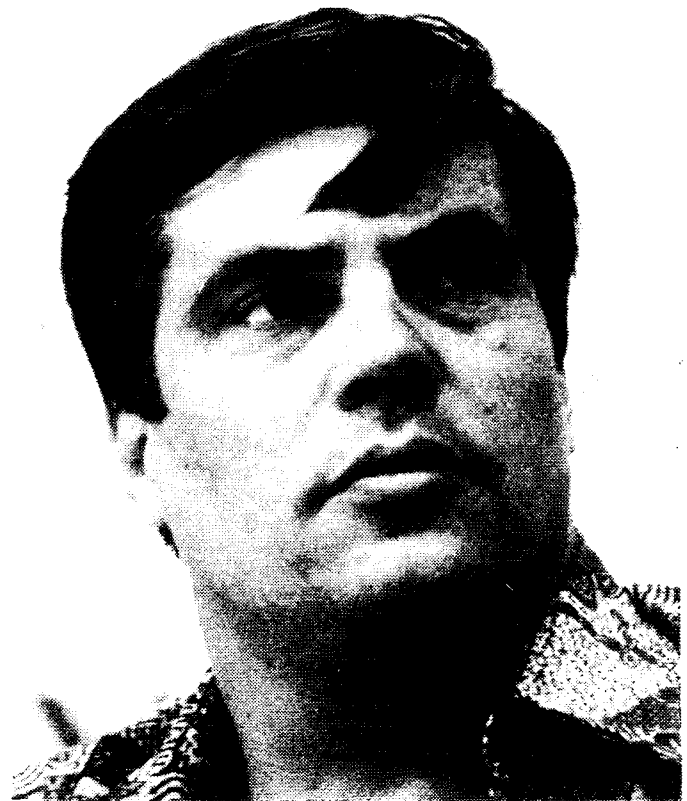
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Ed Sadlowski



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ART

A tribute to Lipschutz, people's artist

THE WORLD OF PEGGY

LIPSCHUTZ: a portfolio of her graphic works

Limited edition portfolio published by the Committee to Salute Peggy Lipschutz, 407 S. Dearborn St., Suite 230, Chicago, IL 60605

Why would an artistically talented person like Peggy Lipschutz choose to devote her work to the cause of the left? Of the worlds open to artists, the left is among the least rewarding in appreciation and money.

While artistic subcultures generally recognize the kind of painstaking work that makes something excellent instead of just very good, the left seems as if it could care less and often deems the effort individualistic, irrelevant or both. No wonder it often lacks the art and sensitivity that it could use so badly.

Peggy Lipschutz has considerable skill and style, more than many other artists. Her lines are alive and miraculously simple. Her forms and composition are organic and suggestive, not mechanical. In her laborer's family, for instance (see illustration), the man is lovingly protective, yet peripheral to the mother's concentration on her child, which is both centered and central. Whether or not these suggestions were intentional, they are there and they make a drawing that might seem politically simplistic, more complex and interesting.

Her great skill is also apparent in her "chalk talks," where she draws to music for an audience, either of schoolchildren or adults. The medium has great, untapped possibilities for political artists. I saw her do it last year at a Pete Seeger concert. A strong, political drawing appeared in no time flat, drawn in rhythm, lit up by a single spotlight. It was visually electric; at once it demystified the art and made the statement all the stronger.

Lipschutz was born in England, studied at Pratt Institute in New York and has worked for many years at *Labor Today*, a Chicago-based rank and file labor newspaper with a leftist orientation, where she is currently art editor.

It is important to evaluate her work in this context. It is geared

to speak quickly, to reinforce convictions already shared by her audience with a swift joke or stylized portrayal of one central emotion, such as outrage or family love. (Her work in the latter category is suggestive of Kathe Kollwitz, the great German engraver and postmaker.)

Some of those who don't share her deep convictions may find her work sentimental or simplistic. She clearly has worked within the expectations of the political culture she has participated in, and attempted to make her work as useful as possible.

While Lipschutz's work does not come across as the mere spinning of "correct lines," one gets the impression that her work was definitely channeled and directed by the political opinions of those around her.

It is good for the left to honor one of its artists, but it is also an appropriate occasion to consider the artistic limitations of the left and the ways in which it could better use the artistic skills of someone like Peggy Lipschutz.

I have known many serious artists who have thrown up their hands at the refusal of various left groups to value their independence, subtlety or autonomy. I've also seen leftists fail to recognize art that challenges, bites, raises aesthetic acuity and awareness as truly political because its subtlety, outrageousness and complexity did not display clear allegiance to some "correct line."

Artists need more space than they have been given to find ways to adapt the values and skills of traditional art to social usefulness. They need to be engaged by the left in a dialog—which necessarily would have to involve considerable flexibility and the willingness to understand different points of view—in the hope of unleashing the potential for change in art.

What does the left have to lose by encouraging artists to challenge—each in his or her own way—audiences who don't share the left's convictions? Wouldn't it be more productive to loose the power of artistic style and originality on those not yet converted, rather than fish for such audiences with a "correct line"?

—Jane Melnick



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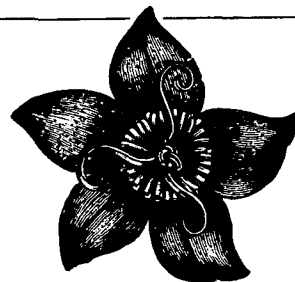
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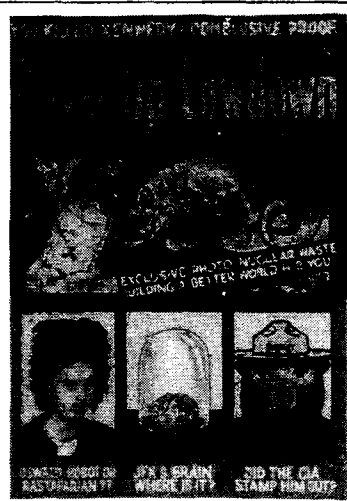
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FILM

A stunning TV docu-drama on the slave trade

THE FIGHT AGAINST SLAVERY

Written by Evan Jones
Produced by Christopher Relling
for BBC and Time-Life TV

This six-hour documentary-drama has slid onto the airwaves via independent TV stations almost surreptitiously. It's as if critics and entertainment page editors had exhausted themselves in their effusions over *Roots* and had not an adjective left to spend on a far more penetrating, better written, acted and produced treatment of the same material.

Since *The Fight Against Slavery* is a British effort (despite the collaboration of Time-Life TV) it focuses on British participation in the West African slave trade, British efforts to outlaw it by an act of Parliament, and the struggle of Jamaican blacks to achieve full emancipation.

Evan Jones, who gets a solo writing credit, describes himself as the descendant of Jamaican slaves and slave-owners. Perhaps because of this heritage, or perhaps because he has done a solid job of historical research and a brilliant job of translating it into dramatic scenes, he is able to supply the shadings that make

'My message? that those who do not understand the past are condemned to repeat it.'

the story completely believable and profoundly illuminating.

Instead of cardboard figures of evil (or weak) white traders, masters and overseers, and admirable, but mostly impotent black victims, Jones gives us a full spectrum of complex and contradictory human beings on both sides of the color line—people who change as events act upon them, repent of wrong-doing, seek absolution in "works" against the institution of slavery, or grow from submission to defiance.

We meet African renegades who grow rich on the traffic in their compatriots; white captains and surgeons whose stomachs are turned by the experience of the Middle Passage, some of whom turn to drink, some to religious abolitionism; planters who are ut-



Accommodations in the hold of a "tight packer" on the Middle Passage.

terly corrupted by their position; missionaries who try to bring religion without freedom and become unwitting accomplices in rebellion; politicians who temporize with speeches about "achieving what is possible without tearing the party apart," others who persist fanatically; and awesomely heroic black martyrs who give their lives where the sacrifice makes sense.

Jones has used historical figures—famous and obscure—and has made them completely real, with the assistance of a superb cast of actors, black and white. All the major incidents are authentic, and so is much of the dialogue. (The speeches in Parliament are all taken from Hansard, the official record.)

Locations are equally authentic: on the slave coast of what is

now Ghana; in the old cities and back country plantations of Jamaica; and the manors and landscapes of western England. The House of Commons as it was in the 18th century, when American independence was being debated along with the abolition of the slave trade, is painstakingly and effectively reproduced.

But it is to the script that the major credit for achievement must go.

Even with the type of promotion that *Roots* got from ABC, *The Fight Against Slavery* might never achieve the kind of ratings that shake the sponsor tree. It is too good, or we are too accustomed to the not-so-good. But it will leave a deep imprint of truth on the mind and hearts of those lucky enough to see it.

They will have learned some-

thing of the history of the slaves as well as the slave-makers, and how what Jones calls "the vested interests" behaved in this connection. Asked what he considers the message of the drama, Jones answered, "If there is one, I suppose it's that those who don't understand the past are condemned to repeat it."

It seems unlikely that there will be another mass enslavement of one race by another, but the last lines of *The Fight Against Slavery* point the direction in which one may look for the repetition. As recently liberated black men are driven to the same hard labor by the lash of hunger, one of them speaks—over the image of the noose—the bitter truth that slavery comes again in different disguises.

—Janet Stevenson

Truffaut's latest film: a gentle satire on macho sex

THE MAN WHO LOVED WOMEN

Written and directed by Francois Truffaut
Nestor Almendros, director of photography
Distributed by Cinema V, not rated

Truffaut's *The Man Who Loved Women* is a film about a man who did not love women, made by a man who does. Witty, wise and charming, it is a film about sex without love, about changes in the relationships of the sexes.

A hearse drives past. One car after another pulls up to an immense stone wall. One black clad woman after another gets out. Some come singly, some in pairs. The last dashes up in her little car, throws a black coat over a tennis dress and joins the parade. The stage is set for gentle humor.

As the graveside service begins one woman (Brigitte Fossy) moves apart from the rest and becomes the narrator who leads you into the story of the man who could attract so varied a feminine cortege.

Bertrand (Charles Denner) was a bachelor, fortyish, who worked in a testing laboratory and made a good enough living to have an apartment packed with books, some nice furniture, some snobby. His main passion was chasing girls, all sorts of girls. Legs, more than any other part of the

anatomy, turned him on. But initial unavailability is what really got him going.

In the hands of a less sophisticated and gentle director *The Man Who Loved Women* could have been a Lubitschian comedy. But Truffaut is too aware and too human to fall into such a trap. Bertrand is not just a macho sexist. He is intelligent, sensitive, capable of feeling guilty about using a woman, and as much used by women as they by him.

This is what the laughter is about: the games men and women play with and on each other in their sexual contests. Bertrand describes them in his memoirs, trying to understand why he has never been able to make a lasting commitment to any woman, never wanted any of them to stay with him through the night.

There is Delphine (played by Nelly Bougeaud) who delights in dangerous situations. She enjoys sex most when there is the possibility of being discovered, like "making love" in the model bedroom of a department store. There is Liliane, the hard-headed waitress who can flip a masher over her shoulder in an expert Judo maneuver; Helene, a woman his own age who turns him down. (He's too old for her; she is at the age when she likes young men.)

The women are not played as foils to Bertrand or as abstract



Delphine (Nelly Bougeaud) watching Bertrand (Charles Denner) watching a girl go by.

symbols, but as lovingly observed individuals, delightful in their own right. Some are sad, looking for completion in a man unable to complete himself. Others are strong, tolerating him for the pleasure of the moment. Aurore, Isabelle, Fabienne, Genevieve, Denise, Nicole, Uta—delicious miniature portraits. And then Vera, marvelously played by Leslie Caron. The film is so economically made that one can conjure up the entire love affair between Vera and Bertrand in the brief encounter in the cloak room of a Paris hotel.

The Man Who Loved Women is Truffaut's sixteenth film since *Four Hundred Blows*, of which one is reminded by the flashback scenes of Bertrand's adolescence. He has become a master of simplicity. He knows when to use the cliché image to advance the tale quickly: Bertrand opens his window; there is the Eiffel Tower; he

has gone to Paris.) But he can also invent the symbolic image that avoids the cliché: the lady who shared his evening has brought Bertrand breakfast on a tray; they kiss; a kitten finishes the breakfast on the tray with gusto. A girl borrows her grandmother's dress; Bertrand must undo 137 buttons before he can arrive at the girl.

When the lines are of no importance, exterior sounds overpower the human voice like a love scene in a thunderstorm, or when Bertrand's editor takes him to see the memoirs being set in type. What matters is that Bertrand's book is being printed, so the sound of the linotype drowns out all conversation.

In all Truffaut's films there are real places and people work at real jobs. Bertrand's laboratory where he tests the action of turbulence, air on planes, waves on ships, is interesting. The publish-

ing house that accepts his book is believable.

The locations are one of the pleasures of the film. Montpellier must be a very pretty city—modern buildings mixed with ancient ones, parks and trees. A small bistro, a fancy Paris hotel, Nestor Almendros has made them all look beautiful.

Charles Denner is marvelously funny as the obsessed Bertrand. There is a sweetness to his character that makes him appealing and vulnerable. But one has no difficulty seeing that Bertrand's infantile immaturity makes him the victim of his own behavior as well as its perpetrator.

Truffaut takes a very dim, if affectionate view of his hero. He leaves you with the impression that it is the women he is betting on.

—Mavis Lyons
Mavis Lyons is a film editor in New York and reviews films regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

Business VS. Capitalism



Gary Sinick

By Chuck Fager

This summer in San Francisco, a turning point of sorts was reached in the development of alternative business enterprises. July 14-28 the first classes of the New School for Democratic management were conducted, with more than 90 students enrolled.

"Too many people in alternative economic ventures have confused being anti-capitalist with being anti-businesslike," says David Olsen, head of the New School for Democratic Management. He's out to change that.

During these two weeks, workers from food coops, feminist record companies, bakeries and even newspapers located up and down the Pacific coast and from as far away as New Mexico dug in to courses on such basic business concepts as accounting, budgeting and marketing, along with more theoretical topics like how to run a small business democratically without burning everybody out.

The reason this quiet and little-noted course of instruction can be called a landmark is perhaps best summed up by David Olsen, the school's organizer and coordinator: "Too many people in alternative economic ventures have been confusing being anti-capitalist with being anti-businesslike," he says.

"And so, for as much as ten years now people have been trying to make new kinds of enterprises work without much real success. Now some people are ready to outgrow these anti-businesslike attitudes; they realize that this doesn't mean giving up or selling out their politics. We're helping them confront issues like wages, planning and growth that have too often been obstacles to their success. Our students see that they need basic training to cope with these matters and achieve their own objectives."

Naturally a self-selected group like the New School's first students can't be regarded as any sort of reliable cross-section of the people interested in alternative business. Yet just the appearance of such a school, and its success with its first curriculum should be music to the ears

of those people—and they are many—whose experiences with alternative economics has been marked by high ideals undermined, high hopes dissipated and high energy eaten up by frustration, failure and alienation.

Burnout and waste.

Working on the school has certainly been good for organizer Olsen's spirits. He had been through just such a set of experiences—on both ends. A Berkeley graduate in English, he was heavily involved in the anti-war movement during the Indochina years. Later, in Cambridge, Mass., he joined a radical collective called the Africa Research Group. "We tried to support the group through publication and sales of the results of our work," he recalls, "but we could never get that really together."

During this time he was asked to serve on the board of a local activist foundation, the Cambridge Ministry to Higher Education, which made grants to many alternative enterprises. "Our Board looked at a lot of groups, and handled even more proposals," he says, "and after a while I could see patterns in their success and failure. Too many groups would begin some project with a lot of enthusiasm and not much money, they would go for about two years or maybe a little more, and then they'd falter and usually fold up. The people who had been involved would end up feeling very burned out, and many ended up abandoning their work for change entirely."

"I saw this pattern as a tremendous waste of resources—a waste of money, of human potential and of political capital as well. People in the communities where these projects were located learned not to trust these efforts. They couldn't depend on alternative institutions, and so if anything their dependence, however grudging, on mainstream institutions was ultimately increased."

Olsen's interest in a new kind of business school as a means of breaking up this unhealthy pattern began in his reflections on these experiences. He also drew on the work of radical economists like Derek Shearer, who had studied the history of the New Democratic party in British Columbia, a democratic socialist party which took power some years ago.

"Once the party had won the provincial elections for the first time, the leadership discovered that they had no one who knew how to actually run the government machinery," Olsen says. "So they began to talk about the need for a school of management that would be built around the new values they were trying to embody."

Successful beginning.

Olsen's idea actually got off the ground in the spring of 1976 when he persuaded the Foundation for National Progress, a corporate offshoot of the monthly magazine *Mother Jones*, to give him a grant that would enable him to develop a proposal for the school.

He then worked for eight months do-

Continued on page 20.